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Publications of the Society

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Publications of the Society.

1. Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Oriskany: 1877. Address by Hon. Ellis H. Roberts.
2. Historical Fallacies Regarding Colonial New York. Douglass Campbell. Annual Address: 1879.
3. The Men, Events, Lawyers, Politics and Politicians of Early Rome. Hon. D. E. Wager: 1879.
4. Articles of Incorporation, Constitution, By-Laws, Officers, Members and Donors of the Society, and Proceedings of Annual Meeting: 1879.
5. Early History of Oneida County. William Tracy. Annual Address: 1880.
6. Transactions (1) of the Oneida Historical Society, with Annual Address and Reports for 1881, Paris Re-Interment and Papers read before the Society from 1878 to 1881.
7. Semi-Centennial of the City of Utica, and Supper of Half-Century Club: 1882.
8. A Long Lost Point in History. L. W. Ledyard. Annual Address: 1883.
9. Col. John Brown. Rev. G. L. Roof, D. D.: 1884.
10. Transactions (2) of the Oneida Historical Society, 1881 to 1884, containing Whitestown Centennial, Whitesboro's Golden Age; Wagner Re-Interment; Old Fort Schuyler Celebration; and Dedication of the Oriskany Monument: 1885.
11. Transactions (3) of the Oneida Historical Society, 1885-1886, containing Early Protestant Missions among the Iroquois; The Streets of Utica; The Utica Water Works; Forts Stanwix and Bull and other Forts at Rome; Memorial of S. Wells Williams; The Utica High School; List of the Birds of Oneida County: 1886.
12. Amended Constitution and By-Laws, and Catalogue of Members of the Oneida Historical Society: 1887.
13. The Historic Difference of English and Continental Civilization. Rev. Dr. William T. Gibson, LL. D.: 1888.
14. Transactions (4) of the Oneida Historical Society, 1887-1889, containing the New Hartford Centennial; Is Local History worth

Studying? Geology of Oneida County; The New York Iroquois; The Bleecker Street Church; Ancient Utica; and Botany and Botanists of this vicinity.

15. Catalogue of the Library of the Oneida Historical Society, Manuscripts, Maps, &c.: 1890.
16. Col. Marinus Willett. Hon. Daniel E. Wager: 1891.
17. Transaction (5) of the Oneida Historical Society, 1890-1892, containing Geographical names as monuments of History; Gen. John A. Dix; Iroquois and Colony of New York; Early Welsh Settlers of Oneida County; Fairfield Medical College; Chapter in Glacial History; Silas Wright, Pre-Historic Remains in Sweden; Sangerfield; Laying of Historical Stone of Utica Y. M. C. A. Association; John F. Seymour; Constitution and By-Laws, Officers, Members, Publications and Addresses Oneida Historical Society: 1892.
18. Transactions (6) of the Oneida Historical Society, 1892-94, containing The Dutch Our Allies in the Revolution; The Unresponsive Roll Call at Tattoo; Watauga and Franklin; Two Episodes in Early United States History; The City in the Roman Constitution; The Madog Tradition; The Mystery of the Muller Mansion; Reminiscences of the Utica Literary Club, and its earliest members; The New York Indians: 1894.
19. Transaction (7) of the Oneida Historical Society, Ceremonies Connected with the Dedication of "Munson-Williams Memorial," the Home of the Oneida Historical Society.
20. Transactions (8) of the Oneida Historical Society. The Mohawk Indians. An Inquiry into their Origin, Migration and Influence upon the White Settlers, by S. L. Frey.
21. Transactions (9) of the Oneida Historical Society.
22. Dedication of the Seymour Memorial. George L. Miller.
23. The Federal Era in American History. Rev. E. P. Powell.
24. New England in New York. Hon. Stephen Holden.
25. Political and Social Life in Washington during the Administration of President Monroe. Robert J. Hubbard.
26. The Philippine Problem in the Light of American International Policy. Prof. E. W. Huffcut.
27. The Migration of Trade Centers. Dr. Robert E. Jones.
28. Recollections of Lincoln and Grant. Gen. James Grant Wilson.
29. The Social and Political Influence of Some Inventions of the 19th Century. Edmund Wetmore.
30. Abraham Lincoln. Hon. Thomas L. James.

Mission of the Oneida Historical Society.

It is the mission of this Society to cover in its collections and researches the entire territory embraced in the original civil division of Central New York—the County of Tryon, erected in 1772, rechristened Montgomery in honor of Gen. Montgomery, and in contempt of a royal governor, in 1784; divided in 1791 into the Counties of Montgomery, Otsego, Tioga, Ontario and Herkimer, Oneida County being erected out of the latter in 1798. It is a wide field, for the boundaries of Tryon County included all the territory lying west of a line running nearly north and south through the present County of Schoharie. All the State of New York west of that line is our particular field; but we go beyond this, and exchange publications with many kindred societies in the United States and Europe. The County of Tryon included the hunting grounds of the Five Nations of Iroquois, who were the owners of this soil before our fathers possessed themselves of it, and whose civil and military achievements form a glorious chapter in the aboriginal history of America. We are the centre of the famous "long house" within fifty miles of the spot where the council fires were held, and so directly in the home of the Oneida tribe of Iroquois—the only one of the original Five Nations which stood by the colonists in their struggle for independence—that Utica is the custodian of its "Sacred Stone." In many ways the original Tryon County is peculiarly interesting, in a historical point of view. Here lived, labored and died, Sir William Johnson, in many respects the most prominent figure in the colonial annals of America. Here also lived his sons and their ally, Joseph Brandt, who made the Mohawk Valley forever memorable as the scene of the fiercest and most relentless Indian and Tory massacres. Hither migrated the chief segment of the exiled Palatinates; and the story of their pioneer battles with the wilderness, their revolutionary patriotism under circumstances the most perilous that tested the nerves of any colonists, with the later record of their remarkable assimilation with the American race—a story never yet fully written out—offers inspiration for song, romance and history. Here, also, were the frontier and defensive forts and castles of the French, the Indians and the English, as well as the colonists—Fort Bull, Fort Plain, Fort House, Fort Hill, Fort Hunter, Fort Dayton, Fort Schuyler, Fort Stanwix, Fort Oswego, and Fort Brewerton. Here passed and repassed along the water-courses, over the Indian fords and through the trackless forests, the military expeditions of French and English, until the

prowess of the later at length determined that the English race and civilization should predominate upon the continent. Here were fought the battles of Oriskany and Saratoga, upon whose fields the war for independence ceased to be a rebellion and became a revolution. Here the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company made the first attempt at artificial water navigation in America, an attempt which soon developed into the Erie Canal, upon whose waters the commerce of a continent traverses from the lakes to the Atlantic. Here was the scene of the romantic adventure and the untold fate of the Castorland Company, and here is the grave and monument of the brave Baron Steuben. Here was tested one of the first railroads ever built. Here was organized the first express company. Here the telegraph was put to its first practical utility. Here were erected the first cotton factory and the first woolen factory chartered by the State of New York, and here has been the home of more than a due proportion of the statesmen whose life-work is a part of the history of New York and the Nation.

The Oneida Historical Society is the proper custodian of the documents, manuscripts, relics and memorials, of every kind and description, which relate to and illustrate this remarkable history. And it remains for us to faithfully gather and preserve the valuable materials of local history that still remain scattered, and are fast disappearing.

The Oneida Historical Society has in no way done more to preserve and keep alive our local history, than by the monuments which it has helped to erect. The beginnings of our city are defined and perpetuated by the memorial of old Fort Schuyler. The settlement of the country is forever traced back to its pioneer by the monument to Hugh White in the town which bears his name. The towering column at Oriskany teaches for all the strategic and commercial relations of the valley of the Mohawk to the continent, while it gives immortality to the yeomen who withstood the armed hosts of invasion. For these this Society may claim its share of credit. The monument to Baron Steuben, due in large part to the thoughtfulness of our German fellow-citizens, at all its stages had the favor of our distinguished president, the late Gov. Horatio Seymour, whose eloquence crowned its dedication. He also contributed to the memorial to that early soldier—the soldier of the cross—Samuel Kirkland, missionary, leader in education in Central New York, and efficient patriot, by whose grave the hill-side above Oriskany Creek is made ever consecrated ground.

Regular monthly meetings of the Society are held on the second Monday of each month.

Addresses and Papers Read before the Society

1. 1878. October 29—The Genealogy of a Utica Newspaper. Alexander Seward.
2. November 26—The History of Journalism in Rome. Hon. D. E. Wager.
3. December 10—The Needs and Purposes of the Oneida Historical Society. S. N. D. North.
4. December 17—The History of the Title to the Oriskany Battle Field. Alexander Seward.
5. December 31—The Telegraph and Associated Press. Alexander Seward.
6. 1879. January 14—Historical Fallacies Regarding Colonial New York. Douglass Campbell.
7. January 28—The Men, Events, Lawyers, Politics and Politicians of Early Rome. Hon. D. E. Wager.
8. February 25—The Herkimer Family Papers. Matthew D. Bagg.
9. May 6—The Castorland Colony. Dr. Franklin B. Hough.
10. July 29—The Earliest Factories of Oneida, and their Projectors. Dr. M. M. Bagg.
11. September 23—Johannes Rueff, the Pioneer Settler at Fort Stanwix, N. Y. Rev. Dr. F. H. Roof.
12. November 11—(1st) Description and Analysis of the Massachusetts MSS. in the State Library, relating to the removal of the Seneca Indians in 1838. (2d) The Pompey Stone, with Inscription and Date of 1520. Henry A. Homes.
14. December 23—The Civil, Moral, and Social Condition of the people of England at the commencement of the reign of George III. Daniel Batchelor.
15. 1880. January 13—Incidents Connected with the Early History of Oneida County. Annual Address. Hon. William Tracy.

[NOTE.—The Oneida Historical Society has not published all of the addresses delivered before it, for the reason that some of the manuscripts have not been left with the Society by the authors, while others have not been considered appropriate for publication.]

16. February 17—A glance at the First Volunteers from Central New York, in the early days of the War of the Rebellion. Gen. Wm. H. Christian.

17. May 11—The Palatines, and their settlement in the Upper Mohawk Valley. Hon. Samuel Earl.

18. July 13—The Syracuse and Utica Railroad. Hon. Daniel E. Wager.

19. November 9—Andrew A. Bartow and the Discovery of Water Lime in this Country. Hon. Samuel Earl.

20. December 21—The Continental Congress: Some of its actors and their doings with the results thereof. Annual Address. Hon. William J. Bacon.

21. 1881. March 2—Letter of Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchell, 1804, relative to the Louisiana Purchase, with Biographical Sketch of Dr. Mitchell. Morven M. Jones.

22. April 6—Biographical Sketch of Dr. Matthew Brown, of Rome, afterwards of Rochester, N. Y. Dr. M. M. Bagg.

23. May 31—The Early History of the Mohawk Valley. Rev. Geo. A. Lintner, D. D. Read by C. W. Hutchinson.

24. December 7—The Golden Age of Whitesboro. Hon. D. E. Wager.

25. 1882. January 10—Historical Sketch of the New York Historical Society. Annual Address. Dr. M. M. Bagg.

26. February to May—Golden Age of Whitesboro. D. E. Wager.

27. 1883. January 9—A Long Lost Point in History. Annual Address. L. W. Ledyard.

28. April 10—Extracts from the Journal of a First Sandwich Island Missionary. Mrs. Maria S. Loomis. Read by A. Seward.

29. May 8—Political Poem. John H. Lothrop. Read by Dr. M. M. Bagg.

30. June 5—Antiquities of Onondaga. Rev. W. M. Beauchamp.

31. September 11—Eulogy on George P. Marsh. Rev. Dr. S. G. Brown.

32. October 9—Familiar Talk About Mexico. Dr. E. Hutchinson.

33. November 13—The Streets of Utica. L. M. Taylor.

34. December 11—Cannibalism. General C. W. Darling.

35. 1884. January 15—Social System of our New York Indians. Annual Address. Rev. Dr. Charles Hawley.

36. February 12—Ancient Utica. Prof. George C. Sawyer.

37. March 31—Memorial of S. Wells Williams. T. W. Seward.
38. Extracts from Military Journal of Col. Frederick Visscher. S. G. Visscher.
39. April 28—Col. John Brown. Rev. Dr. G. L. Roof.
40. November 24—Fort Stanwix and other Forts at Rome. Hon. D. E. Wager.
41. 1885. January 13—The Greek idea of the State. Annual Address, Prof. Edward North.
42. March 30—The Gazeteers of New York. S. N. D. North.
43. September 28—The manuscripts of His Excellency Daniel D. Tompkins, which have recently come into possession of the State Library. Henry A. Homes.
44. October 26—Lecture on Iceland. Rev. T. R. G. Peck.
45. 1886. January 12—Early Protestant Missions among the Iroquois. Annual Address. Prof. A. G. Hopkins.
46. January 25—The Utica Water Works. Thomas Hopper.
47. February 22—The principal works on the Botany of this vicinity. Dr. Joseph B. Haberer.
48. March 29—Origin and Early Life of the New York Iroquois. Rev. W. M. Beauchamp.
49. April 26—List of the Birds of Oneida County, N. Y., and of its immediate vicinity. Egbert Bagg.
50. May 31—Prehistoric Remains in Sweden, translated from the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society of Sweden. Thos. R. Colling.
51. September 21—Sangerfield, N. Y. Its Development and its Industries. Hon. Amos O. Osborn.
52. November 29—Prehistoric remains in Sweden, (continued): Thos. R. Colling
53. 1887. January 11—Is Local History worth studying? Annual Address. Prof. Francis M. Burdick.
54. March 28—Reconections of Joseph Bonaparte. S. L. Frey. Were Shikellimy and Logan, Oneidas? Rev. W. M. Beauchamp.
55. April 25—Reminiscences of the Early History of Oneida County. Col. J. T. Watson.
56. May 30—The Bleecker Street Church. Thomas W. Seward.
57. September 26—Gen. Oliver Collins. Charles D. Adams.
58. October 31—Visit to Gibraltar and Tangier. Rev. T. R. G. Peck.
59. December 19—Rev. Beriah Green. Dr. Smith Baker.
60. 1888. January 10—The Value of Local Historical Research. Annual Address. Prof. Oren Root.

61. January 20—Early methods of travel in the Mohawk Valley and Central New York. Prof. A. G. Hopkins.
62. March 26—The Historic Difference of English and Continental Civilization. Rev. Dr. W. T. Gilson.
63. April 30—Reminiscences of New Hartford. Henry Hurlburt.
64. May 28—Geology of Oneida County. Rev. A. P. Brigham.
65. September 24—Earlier Poets of Utica. Dr. M. M. Bagg.
66. December 3—Early Welsh Settlers of Oneida County. Rev. Erasmus W. Jones.
67. December 17—The Insurrection and Conquest of the Tuscarora Indians. Col. Edward Cantwell.
68. 1889. January 8—Geographical Names as Monuments of History. Annual Address. Rev. Dr. Willis J. Beecher, of Auburn Theological Seminary.
69. January 28—History of the Presbyterian Church at New Hartford. Rev. Edward H. Payson.
70. February 25—Earliest instance on record of Complete Anaesthesia produced by Nitrous Oxide. Dr. M. M. Bagg.
71. May 15—Early Northwestern History, with Stereopticon Views. A. A. Graham, Secretary Ohio Historical Society.
72. October 28—Silas Wright, Governor of New York from 1845 to 1847. Rev. Daniel Ballou.
73. November 25—Peter Stuyvesant, the last Dutch Governor of New York. Col. James T. Watson.
74. December 30—Gen. Wm. H. T. Walker and Gen. John W. Fuller. Alexander Seward.
75. 1890. January 14—Life and character of Governor John A. Dix. Gen. James Grant Wilson. Annual Address.
76. January 27—The Three Witnesses of the Book of Mormon. James H. Kennedy.
77. February 24—The Iroquois and the Colony of New York. Rev. W. M. Beauchamp.
78. March 31—Fairfield Medical College. Lucien B. Wells, M. D.
79. March 31—Early doings of the First Spiritualists. Alexander Seward.
80. April 8—The Leisler troubles in New York, 1689 to 1691. Rev. A. G. Vermilye, D. D.
81. April 28—John Jay. His origin, character and public services. Frank B. Parkhurst.
82. May 26—Judge William Cooper of Otsego, the Founder of Cooperstown. Hon. Edward T. DeLancey.
83. October 29—The Colonial Press of Boston and New York. Col. William L. Stone.

84. November 24—Col. Marinus Willett. D. E. Wager.
85. December 29—Col. Marinus Willett, Part 2. D. E. Wager.
86. 1891. January 13—The Making of a Constitution. Prof. B. S. Terry.
87. February 13—The Barbarian Nemesis. Prof. B. S. Terry.
88. February 16—The Gothic Invader. Prof. B. S. Terry.
89. February 20—Gog and Magog. Prof. B. S. Terry.
90. February 23—The Kites and the Crows. Prof. B. S. Terry.

By Prof. Albert P. Brigham,
Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.

91. February 25—Rivers.
92. March 2—Glaciers and Glacial Periods.
93. March 4—The Ice Age in North America.
94. March 6—Lakes and Underground Waters.

By Prof. Arthur S. Hoyt,
English Literature in Hamilton College.

95. March 11—Macbeth, Illustrating the power of Shakespeare.
96. March 13—Wordsworth, the man and poet.
97. March 18—The Jew of Marlowe and the Jew of Shakespeare.
98. March 20—Tennyson and modern schools of Poetry.

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99. May 12—Benjamin Fletcher, Colonial Governor of New York, 1692-98. Gen. Watts De Peyster.
100. 1892. January 12—The Evolution of the Factory System. S. N. D. North. Annual Address: 1892.
101. February 9—Extracts from Memorial History of Utica. Dr. M. M. Bagg.
102. March 8—Visit to West Indies, Brazil, Spain and Portugal. Rev. Dana W. Bigelow.
103. April 12—Pre-Historic Archaeology of America. Charles W. Darling, A. M.
104. October 11—Reminiscences of the Utica Literary Club and its Earliest Members. A. G. Vermilye, D. D.
105. November 8—Watauga and Franklin. Two episodes of early United States History. Rev. O. A. Kingsbury.
106. 1893. January 10—Some sketches from the history of the Supreme Court of the United States: Annual Address. Prof. W. R. Terry, D. D.
107. February 14—The Life and character of Col. Edward P. C. Cantwell. Rev. J. B. Averett.
108. April 11—The Oneida Institute at Whitesboro. Dr. Smith Baker.

109. May 9—The Unresponsive Roll Call at Tattoo. Luther R. Marsh.
110. October 10—The Muller Mansion. Robert J. Hubbard.
111. November 12—The Constitutional History of Virginia. Rev. T. L. Banister.
112. December 12—The Building of a Tragedy. Prof. Edward North, LL.D.
113. 1894. January 9—The Dutch our Allies in the Revolution. Annual Address. Rev. Wm. Elliot Griffis, D. D.
114. February 15—Samson Occum. Rev. W. DeLoss Love, D. D.
115. April 10—The Madog Tradition. Benjamin F. Lewis.
116. May 8—The New York Indians. Hon. Elliot Danforth.
117. June 5—The Mohawks. S. L. Frey.
118. 1895. January 8—The Study of History. Rev. Prof. W. R. Terrett.
119. April 9—The Invasion of the Mohawk and Schoharie Valleys by Sir John Johnson. R. A. Grider.
120. November 12—New England in New York. Judge Stephen Holden.
121. December 10—The Political and Social Life in Washington during the Administration of President Monroe. Robert J. Hubbard.
122. 1896. February 11—The Egyptian Soudan and General Gordon. Col. H. G. Prout.
123. March 10—The Mayflower Pilgrims. Rev. Dr. W. C. Winslow, LL. D.
124. April 14—Van Corlaer's Journal of 1634. S. L. Frey.
125. 1897. January 12—The Federal Party in American History. Rev. E. P. Powell.
126. February 9—Physical Geography and American History, by Prof. A. G. Brigham.
127. March 9—Story of Old Days in Utica, N. Y. Mrs. Eliza Brown.
128. April 12—The Preservation of Forests. Prof. J. Rothrock.
129. May 11—Our Postal System. Gen. T. L. James.
130. June 8—Greece and the Orient. Gen. Chas. W. Darling.
131. November 9—Experimental Education. Prof. Ralph W. Thomas.
132. December 14—Flags of the Oneida County Regiments. Lewis A. Jones, Arch Snow, Gen. Rufus Daggett, Wm. Campbell and Capt. D. C. Stoddard.
133. 1898. January 11—State Pride and Patriotism. Col. Wm. Cary Sanger.
134. February 8—History of the 26 Regt. N. Y. S. V. Major E. F. Wetmore.

135. March 8—Early settlements in Vermont. Gen. Chas. W. Darling.
136. March 15—First 100 years of the existence of Oneida County, N. Y. Judge Stephen Holden.
137. May 10—Civil War incidents and recollections. Gen Daniel Butterfield.
138. October 11—Nansen's Farthest North. Rev. D. W. Bigelow.
139. November 15—Skenandoa. Prof. Clinton Scollard.
140. December 14—Fort Fisher. Gen. N. M. Curtis.
141. 1899. January 10—Story of an Adventure. Hon. C. E. Flandrau.
142. February 13—A visit to Jerusalem. W. E. Mayer.
143. March 14—Life of Gov. Horatio Seymour. Miss Blandina D. Miller.
144. April 11—Churches of Utica. Gen. Charles W. Darling.
145. September 22—Unveiling of the Seymour Monument. Gov. Theodore Roosevelt. Eulogy by George M. Weaver. Presentation speech by Dr. Geo. L. Miller.
146. November 15—Cavour and Bismarck. Rev. C. S. Barrett.
147. December 14—Tribute to Washington. Rev. Dr. W. R. Terrett.
148. 1900. February 13—Migration of Trade Centers. Dr. R. S. Jones.
149. March 16—Philippine Problem. Prof. E. M. Huffcut.
150. April 10—Recollections of Lincoln and Grant. Gen. James Grant Wilson.
151. May 8—Early Maritime Life in New England. Hon. Isaac Townsend Smith.
152. October 9—Social and political influence of some inventions of the 19th Century. Hon. Edmund Wetmore.
153. November 13—Trade in Colonial America. Henry P. Warren.
154. December 15—Money and modern business. Hon. Charles S. Fairchild.
155. 1901. February 12—Personal reminiscences of Oliver Wendel Holmes. Hon. W. H. McElroy.
156. March 12—Tragic scenes of Lincoln's death. Gen. H. L. Burnett.
157. April 9—Abraham Lincoln. Hon. Thomas L. James.
158. November 12—Oxford life and personalities. Prof. H. D. M. Stephens.
159. December 9—Alexander Hamilton. Truman J. Backus, LLD.
160. 1902. January 14—Right and reason of the State. Rev. Dr. W. R. Terrett.
161. February 10—Life and poetry of Aubrey De Vere. Rev. D. E. Campbell.

162. March 10—Migration and development. Hon. C. E. Fitch.
163. April 14—The Germans in America. Hon. Sixt Carl Kapph.
164. October 13—New York's Colonial land marks. F. Newell Gilbert.
165. November 10—Scientific work of the U. S. Government. Prof. A. P. Brigham.
166. December 8—The new land of Gold—Alaska. Mrs. Mary E. Hitchcock.
167. 1903. Jan. 13—"The Historical Novel"—Hon. Charles E. Fitch.

DR. GEORGE L. MILLER,
OF OMAHA, NEB.
Who presented THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AT UTICA, N. Y., with the Bust of
EX-GOV. HORATIO SEYMOUR.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS,

Delivered in the City of Utica, N. Y., at the

DEDICATION OF THE SEYMOUR MONUMENT.

By George L. Miller.

Mr. President and members of the Oneida Historical Society ladies and gentlemen:

We are gathered here in this beautiful city of the beautiful valley of the Mohawk, and under the shadows of yonder Deerfield and Trenton hills, which he loved so well in life, to dedicate a monument to the memory of Horatio Seymour. The presence and eloquence of Theodore Roosevelt, eminent in both war and peace, and already one of the most distinguished of a long line of governors in the state of New York, are befitting tributes to the dead statesman, whose exalted personal character and public service are still, and will long remain, a potential force among men. Fresh from scenes which witnessed the extinction in smoke and flame of what remained to me of personal correspondence and written memorials of the man whose memory we all delight to honor, covering a period of nearly forty years, poverty of material reduces the little that I might have added to what has been so eloquently said by Governor Roosevelt, to a very small compass.

It was just over those northern hills, a little beyond the old home of the Mappas, whom I knew in my childhood, the father, as well as Charles and John, the sons, and not many miles from the grave of Steuben, which he did so much to preserve and honor, that my own eyes first beheld the sunlight. It was also there, as long ago, I think, as fifty years, in the sombre and solid forests of what he used to call "the Black River country," that I first saw Horatio Seymour. The time and season were mid-

winter. The snows were at their usual maximum of three or four feet in depth. The man who in after years became so important to the lives of so many others, not less by high personal example than by sound leadership and teaching, was mounted on a pair of snow-shoes, which had been loaned to him for a sail on the broad, white seas which covered the land as with a spotless robe. He frequently visited the great woods in the days of Backus and Butterfield, of stage-coach renown, and long before the railroad which bore the name of the iron-painted stream which he gave to that then wild region was ever dreamed of in the forecasts of the men of those times. It was expected that the ex-mayor of Utica would share the common experience of amateurs in general who trifle with the snow-shoe as footgear, but to the surprise, if not actual disappointment, of at least one juvenile spectator, the supposed victim of over-confidence proved to be complete master of the stride which enabled him to move off with the easy spring and safety of the most skilled in that peculiar pedestrian art. He was in the full splendor of the youth of a masterful manhood. In physical proportions he was tall, slender, lithe of step, graceful in every movement, as straight as an Indian, dignified in bearing, as he ever was, and with a presence that was as winning as it was commanding. The broad head, mounted upon square shoulders, with those glittering eyes and facial features beaming with the light of intelligence, and with a benignity which was as rare as it was assuring, is my brief pen-portrait of your own matchless Seymour. The work of Richards has so perfectly wrought in this sculptured "counterfeit presentment" that you shall soon see his speaking likeness of head and features. In facial expression, whether in repose or when animated, there was a prevailing sweetness at all times, and even when the inspiration of public controversy, or the provocations of sometimes venomous attack from political adversaries, deeply moved him, dominating that great mind and every passion, came the gentler power of the still greater heart which chastened resentments, pitied, where it did not scorn, malignity, and pardoned, with the most serene patience and toleration, the injustice of men. It was this ascendancy of the heart over the head that

deprived him of that sterner stuff of which the world makes many of its heroes. Horatio Seymour's power over men in leadership was that of the invincible logic of truth reinforced by the persuasive oratory of which he was a conceded master. He did not believe in force as the regulator of difference among men. As firm as a rock in his convictions, in emergencies where duty called he could, and did, summon the heroic quality, and he never yielded a conviction or a principle to public clamor. It befell me to see him in this kind of crucible on more than one occasion. As a popular orator he was the peer of Henry Clay, and, in New York state, at least, no man, dead or living, in its whole history, ever commanded so great a following. The idol of the common people, he, in turn, relied upon their quick intelligence and discernment, and they trusted his open life and the sincerity of his character. His judgment of general causes and conditions in his search for means to insure the general welfare influenced him to never hesitate to confront public wrongs within and without his own political party, knowing, as Jefferson knew and taught, that there is never any "danger from error while reason is left free to combat it."

It will not be expected of me to say anything new of the life, character and public services of Horatio Seymour. In the recent words of Andrew H. Green, the eminent publicist of New York, "His life and acts were so open, and so before the world, that there is very little that is unknown to the public, saving the incidents of family and intimate friendship." In a recent letter he pays the universal tribute to him as "an accomplished and cultivated gentleman, an upright citizen and of broad statesmanship." Hon. Abraham S. Hewitt, one of the most clear-cut minds and the equal of any of his contemporaries in varied learning and ability, in a late personal letter addressed to me, says: "I was a great admirer of his intellectual vigor, and the perfect sincerity of his character; he was a thoughly honest man, a true patriot and a great statesman. His kindness to young men was proverbial, and what gratified them most was the equality with himself on which he placed them in his intercourse and conversation. In

his character was combined sweetness and light in a more marked degree than any public man whom I have ever met. If he had been made of sterner stuff, doubtless some passages in his career would have turned out differently, but it is better as it was, because in the time of trial principle always rose superior to policy in his conclusions."

Mr. Hewitt refers to an extraordinary incident in his career, a part of which I may say I was, which relates to his nomination to the presidency in 1868 by the Tammany Hall convention of that year. As a delegate to that convention, I was in close contact with the governor, who was its president, by his invitation. As chairman of the New York delegation, by a word he had given me the freedom of its general counsels, paying me the compliment of saying to Francis Kernan and other gentlemen, that I knew more than I really did know of the situation in that turbulent and contentious body of men. Mr. Hewitt says: "The night before his nomination, Mr. Tilden, John Kelly, Governor Seymour and myself dined together at the Manhattan club, and there was a unanimous agreement that Chief Justice Chase was to receive the nomination nex day. Nevertheless, the convention was carried off its feet, and Governor Seymour, who was presiding was nominated in spite of all his efforts to prevent the action. He was greatly distressed, and it required all the persuasion of his intimate friends to prevent a erfusal of the nomination then and there. His reluctance was slowly overcome, and only by the argument that the country demanded his nomination at the sacrifice of his personal preference for a quiet life."

Mr. Hewitt refers to Governor Seymour's constant kindness and consideration for young men. To that noble trait of his character I have myself been a life-long debtor. It was in this very convention of "Sixty-eight" that he gave marked and grateful proof of his goodness toward young men in my own person. It was my first experience as a delegate to a national convention. I represented, in part, one of the smallest and least known of the states. My seat was remote from the platform, where he was directing the proceedings of the most turbulent of conventions.

Vallandigham and Thurman, and McCook, of Ohio, were in a hot war against Indiana and Mr. Hendricks in the interest of Mr. Pendleton. Governor Seymour's nomination was forced by Ohio to defeat Hendricks, whose opposition made Mr. Pendleton impossible. In the midst of all this turmoil, the governor never neglected the young delegate from Nebraska, and day after day during the sessions of the convention he would send a page to bring him to the platform, that he might be constantly advised of the changing conditions and prospects of candidates. An important committee was ordered to invite the "Soldiers and Sailors convention," which was then being held in New York, and escort it to Tammany Hall. The obscure young man from the obscure state was not forgotten, and my best recollection is that he blushed like a school-girl when he heard his name announced with the honor of membership of that distinguished committee.

But I have not done with Mr. Hewitt's observations and incidents of the life of Horatio Seymour. "In this connection I remember," (says Mr. Hewitt), "is saying to me, when he took up the Fox and Wisconsin canal project, that he had given up ambition for avarice." He merely meant that political life had lost all attractions for him, but that he must find occupation, and naturally he engaged in the canal project, because he was always deeply interested in internal waterways."

Mr. Hewitt speaks of the governor's addresses after his final retirement from the political field, and says he was very much impressed by them, and especially by the well-remembered appal to the prisoners at Auburn. "I have always regarded this address," writes Mr. Hewitt, "as one of the most touching in English literature, and it ought to be reproduced every year and read to prisoners in every part of the world."

"Again," says Mr. Hewitt, speaking of the dangerous electoral controversy: "Finally, Governor Seymour's attitude during the electoral controversy in 1877 was altogether in favor of some compromise which would avoid civil war. I had his full support at that time, and I am sure that his influence was potent in bringing about a peaceful solution. He was a man of peace. In intellect he was a giant."

I need not attempt to produce the well-known record of the personal and public life of Governor Seymour, which is safe and secure as a common possession of his native state and country. Twice governor of New York, he put away political ambition in the meridian of his great powers as a leader of men, and it is perfectly known to me that he actually had serious apprehensions in 1876 lest he might be nominated for the presidency at St. Louis in that year in spite of himself. The fact drew from him what was known as the "Spriggs letter," declining a nomination as far as he thought he properly could decline what had not been offered him. Knowing the facts in the case, and of a widespread determination in many states not to accept that letter as final, it was earnestly brought to the attention of the governor by me that he must take a stronger position in the matter of his own nomination than was taken in the wording of the letter to Mr. Spriggs. He was much surprised and evidently somewhat annoyed that he was not believed when his friends were telling him the truth about it. The result was that either Francis Kernan or his friend, Mr. Benedict, bore to St. Louis, and laid before the New York delegation, a letter which was strong enough to stop all use of his name in that convention, but, so far as I know, that letter was never published. It was at this particular part of his career, after forty years of personal intimacy and mutual confidence, alienation crept in between Governor Seymour and Samuel J. Tilden. It had its actual origin during Mr. Tilden's incumbency as governor of the state, and in trifling incidents which were magnified by tale-bearers who were not friendly to Mr. Tilden's presidential aspirations. It was the crowning honor of my own unimportant life to have enjoyed the confidence of both of these eminent men in a measure which I never felt that I deserved. It was at about the time of my importunity with the Governor for the second letter before referred to concerning the St Louis nomination that, being the guest for a day of Mr. Tilden, I said to him that I must say "good-bye! and go home." "When will you see the governor?" was his prompt question, meaning always when he mentioned "the governor" Horatio Seymour. I answered: "At 4 o'clock this afternoon." "Will you

bear a personal message to him from me?" "With the greatest pleasure," I replied. Mr. Tilden said "I have labored forty years to make Horatio Seymour president of the United States, and I wish you to tell him that if he desires the nomination for president, or if he will accept it, I pledge him that my name shall not be used in the coming convention, and that I will do all in my power to secure his nomination and election." Horatio Seymour, Jr., assisted me by his presence when that message of good will was delivered in the Deerfield hills. Governor Seymour received it with an apparently mixed feeling of pleasure and surprise, but it did not move him from his fixed and unalterable purpose to refuse what was, in my own judgment, equivalent to the foremost political station in dignity and power in the world. This act of Mr. Tilden, in my opinion, led up at a later day to a happy reconciliation between the two great men before they passed away. I was assured of this by the late Mr. John F. Seymour.

Thirty years of political activity united to business and Omaha interests brought me to New York frequently, and visits to Utica and Deerfield and to the native spots were continuous during all those years. It was in his home that Horatio Seymour shone resplendently with his matchless conversational orations, to which I was often privileged to listen, and from which I am sure I did not fail to profit. It was the thought of Seymour interpreted by me in the columns of the Omaha Daily Herald that largely gave that newspaper considerable prominence during the twenty-three years of my editorial control of it. On important political questions I drank deep from the fountains of his wise judgment and foresight of men and issues. No subject of consequence escaped his attention. Forestry, the farm, reciprocal trade with the nations, canals and waterways, markets for cheese, education, school-teaching as a preparation for useful life, the future of the west and of the country, finance, etc., etc., were among the themes which were subjects of his remarkable conversational powers. If I could reproduce from memory even a few of those parlor orations, I could read to you by the hour from one of the

greatest minds which this American country has ever produced. An incident is here in order. I had come one day from my far-away home in what has since become the Middle West. After his usual greeting, he rose from the "Webster chair," and, picking up from the table Mr. Tilden's celebrated canal message. he said: "Mr. Miller, have you read Governor Tilden's canal message?" I answered that I had just received it before leaving home, but that I had not had time to look into it. The governor then went on with the strongest praise of that message, and remarked that it was a very able production, one of the best that was ever written. Whereupon I said: "Governor, you seem to regard Governor Tilden as an able man." "Oh, yes," said he, "but he is much more than that. Governor Tilden is not only a very able man, but he is a very wise man."

You will not fail to note the distinction between mere intellectual ability and wisdom which was thus broadly drawn.

Permit me to relate a few more personal incidents. I will go back forty-nine years for one of them. I was pursuing medical studies in Syracuse when, in 1848, General Cass was nominated for president, and Martin Van Buren was also nominated by a faction of the Democratic party for the sole purpose of defeating Mr. Cass. John Van Buren, the son, espoused the cause of the father in an oratorical campaign of great power through Ohio, New York and other states. Repenting of his sins as a Democrat two years later, he undertook to repair damages in a carefully prepared speech at Syracuse. He spoke in the arcade of the Bastable block. It was an adroit and brilliant effort to prove consistency from a notorious record of inconsistency. From start to finish the speech was marked with all the shrewdness and decorated with the wit and eloquence for which Mr. Van Buren was equally remarkable and distinguished. I did not hear as much of his speech as I probably should had not the tall form and beaming face of Seymour appeared in the midst, sometimes astonished and sometimes amused, but always an attentive listener to every word that "Prince John" said on an occasion which laid the

foundation for a large volume of history in the factional life of the Democratic party of the state of New York.

A little more of the same sort. But let it be said before I forget it that Horatio Seymour was a keen observer and profound reader of men and of human nature in general. He had a rare sense of humor, and his wit was as keen as it was harmless and amusing. As I was accompanying him by his invitation to the "Sixty-eight" convention in a drawing-room car, a long line of citizens passed through the aisle to shake hands with him. One of them, reluctant to pass on, lingered long enough to warn him that he needed 'a little air," offering to raise a window to secure it. With that great smile, which always lighted up the soul of everybody who ever saw it, he replied: "I have long wanted a little heir." It was on his visit to Deerfield that he wished me to walk with him into the adjacent forest. Dr. Johnson himself never overmatched the conversational eloquence to which I then listened upon the life, nature, functions, habits and value of trees. Gentle breezes were playing a fit accompaniment to that voice, at all times so richly musical, on the Eolian harps of God's own fashioning. He was dressed in a gray summer's garb, his head was uncovered, and as he went on with his discourse upon the life and habits of various varieties of trees and their scientific and economic importance to mankind he presented the finest picture of animated manhood which I have ever seen.

I have already mentioned the convention of 1868 and some of the incidents leading up to his nomination to the presidency in the words of Mr. Hewitt. As president of that convention, Governor Seymour was the embodiment of dignity, grace and controlling ability. Respect for him was so universal among those warring factions of stout and bold men that I saw him adjourn it without any audible murmur from any man, when at least two-thirds of the convention voted against the motion to adjourn. The party of which he was so long the one commanding idol and leader was in that very hour in imminent danger of divisions which threatened its very existence. Well do I remember the scene when he arose to decline the nomination for president

which came from Ohio. Deeply moved by such a surprising event, his face was whitened as with the pallor of a great shock. In measured words and tone, with an elocutionary power rare among men, and in the midst of a pervading silence that was only broken by his own eloquent voice, he declined the nomination in the closing words, "Your candidate I cannot be." But Ohio would not have it so, and it required the resolution and audacity of a Vallandigham, even now that the governor had vacated the chair, to resist the influence of that protesting oration from this illustrious son of New York over the greatest of all Democratic conventions. A very happy woman was a witness of that scene, because she saw, or thought she saw, the realized dream of an ambitious life in the impending nomination of her father, Chief Justice Chase, to the presidency as being already assured. The Francis P. Blairs, senior and junior, were also there, and were in a similar frame of mind.

During the great convention, Governor Seymour was the guest of Mr. Van Buren. The late Morris S. Miller, my Boonville friend and boyhood companion, and I, made it a point to go to Mr. Van Buren's house each morning and play the part of personal escort to the governor as he walked over to Tammany hall. I had heard a rumor of the movement for the nomination of Mr. Chase. I must have made myself ridiculous in his eyes by telling the governor that, strong as he was with his party, he would be "hissed off the platform if he presented the name of Chase to the convention. "Oh, no," was the bland response.

A few months previous to the convention I was walking with him on Broadway. Mr. Horace Greeley, smarting under the force of his great Cooper Institute speech on finance, had said in the Tribune of that day's issue that, for what he had argued in that famous speech, Horatio Seymour "ought to be cowhided," or words to that effect. I was in a fighting frame of mind over that attack upon my great leader, and hesitated to mention the virulent attack upon him by Mr. Greeley, but at last I was equal to the occasion when I asked: "Did you see what Mr. Greeley said about you in the Tribune this morning, governor?" "What did he say?" was his answer. "He says you ought to be cow-

hided for something you said at Cooper Institute." Slowing down his walk, and half turning around and with the blandest of smiles, he said nothing but this: "Mr. Greeley is mad."

It was in those days of greenback agitation which was started by Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio, that, in company with the late Francis Kernan, Mr. Rutger B. Miller, Mr. Lorin Miller, my father and one or two more, I took tea with the Governor and Mrs. Seymour at the Deerfield home. I started to escort Mrs. Seymour to the parlor when the governor called me back and seated me near him at the table, from which he had not risen. He knew I had been chosen and instructed to vote for Mr. Pendleton as a delegate to the convention. He said: "Will you state to me, Mr. Miller, Mr. Pendleton's position on this question?" I expressed doubts of my ability to do justice to Mr. Pendleton's views. A few words of compliment on that point led me to make the attempt, which seemed to be satisfactory to him. But at this moment he drew from his waistcoat pocket a printed slip from a newspaper, which gave Mr. Pendleton's case in what he said was a very clear statement. I saw at a glance that the clipping was from the Omaha Daily Herald, my own paper, and that the statement was my own. I have always believed that he knew the article was mine, but the fact was not mentioned by either of us. With that slip for a text, he proceeded to "reason Mr. Pendleton out of court," as he put it, and he did it with such force of argument that I proceeded back to Omaha, where, for twenty succeeding years, I was more or less busy in trying to know something that was true about money. In 1876, eight years later, the little state to which I belong by adoption, over a roaring sea of greenback agitation, came to the country with declarations by a democratic state convention for immediate redemption of specie payments, no step backwards, "and for the redemption of all currency in coin," even the New York Times rejoicing that "Nebraska was abreast of Mr. Tilden himself."

Horatio Seymour was one of the broadest of Americans. He studied and sought the welfare of all the people of all the states of our great union. He foresaw and predicted as with the forecast of an inspired prophet the certain transfer of the seats of political

power from the East to the West, and to the populous regions included in the Mississippi valley. What was then predicted is now a realized fact in the marvelous expansion of our country, and through the mighty changes that have marked the almost magical conquest of two-thirds of a continent from barbarism to civilization, almost within the memores of living men. Nor did this supremacy give cause for anything but pride of country in the bosom of this patriotic man. Upon the progress of that section of the union indeed his influence was strong and continuous. He knew the need, and advocated the planting of trees upon its treeless prairie lands. Millions of trees are growing upon them now which that same influence planted. More than one hundred thousand of them of my own planting are casting ample shades upon soils near Omaha, which bear the name of Seymour park, where never tree grew before in all the history or traditions of that rich region. Among those trees are some Oneida county black cherry trees which were sent to me in their tender babyhood by him, and now stand in their rooted stockings thirty feet high, as handsome a grotto of green beauties as human eye ever beheld.

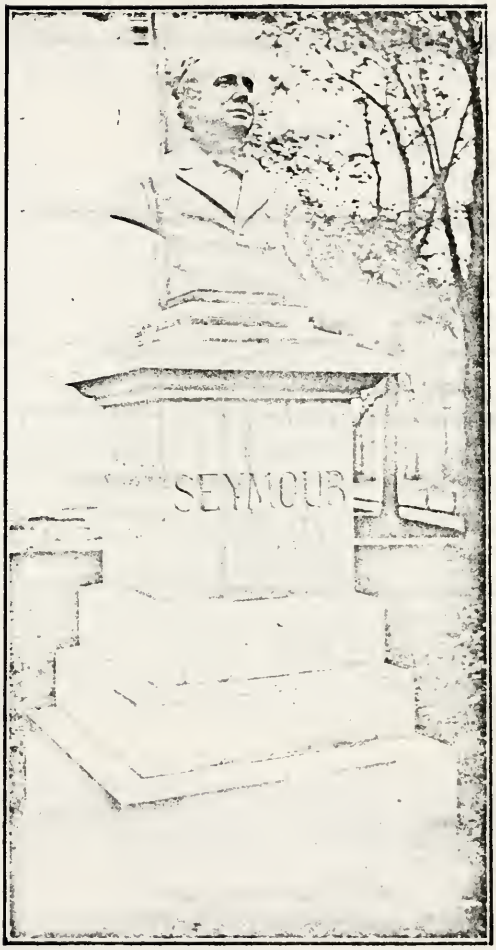
It was an exceptional thing in the lives of public men in our country that after his actual retirement from leadership and political life, his countrymen pursued him with unabated determination to make him president of the United States. This was true of the year 1876, and it was hardly less true of 1880, which was shown at the Cincinnati convention of that year, where I found a very resolute body of men determined upon his nomination. On leaving Utica to take my humble part in it, he asked for and received frequent telegraphic reports of affairs from me of the action of the convention. One of them drew a letter from him which I gave to the country at the time, in which he put himself out of all possible consideration in words which even Mr. Stilson Hutchins, of the Washington Post, his most ardent champion, could not fail to understand.

Men of Oneida county! I congratulate you upon the wealth you possess in the memory of a galaxy of great names. I knew

your Spencers, and your Beardsleys, and your Denios, of the earlier periods, never forgetting Stryker and Jenkins. I heard Joshua Spencer, your great advocate, against Noxon in a celebrated murder case in Syracuse, more than forty-five years ago. Utica has been as a centre of light in the production of great men. The names of Seymour, Conkling and Kernan are still as familiar as so many household words in the public life of the state and country. These names are as dear to me as they are to you. They have made the central city of the Mohawk valley famous by their great talents, brilliant public services and personal examples and virtues. To one of them I erected, years ago, a modest monument in a distant state. Considerations which need not be mentioned here led me to proffer it to the people of Utica through your honorable society. Mr. President, I was as fully sensible then as I am now of how utterly inadequate it is as a befitting monument to the great man whose memory we now seek to perpetuate. Its only merit is in its well-nigh perfect reproduction in enduring bronze of the face and features of Horatio Seymour. I thank this honorable society, of which my illustrious friend was among the chief founders, for its acceptance of my humble offering. I am proud, as I have a right to be, of the association of my name with that of Seymour in the historical annals of my native county. I am pleased, Mr. President, with this charming site which you have chosen for this piece of art from the master hand of David Richards. I think he wrought even better than he knew, for if ever an artist imparted the true likensss and spirit of a man into bronze this result has been achieved by Richards in this noble bust of Horatio Seymour. It is due to history to say that the skilled worker in bronze, no longer living, who produced it was chosen for the task by the late Mrs. Roscoe Conkling and Mr. John F. Seymour. The work was approved and accepted by them. They kindly aided me in my object of having, as a purely personal possession, so valuable a memorial of New York's illustrious son. It is now, by your favor, put to higher and broader uses. I trust it may stand here from generation to generation to remind the youth of

Oneida county and Utica and all visitors to this charming city, of the man whose memory we all venerate.

I am reluctant to close. As many of you know, I am again breathing my native airs, but what it may surprise all of you to know, I am standing to-day, after an absence of more than fifty years, near to what are the dearest spots on earth to me. I owe much to the people and press of Utica. Thirteen years and more have come and gone since I attended the burial services of Horatio Seymour in Trinity church in this city, witnessed the imposing public ceremonials, and listened to the spoken eulogies of his character and life by a long list of eminent men. My task here to-day has not been one of eulogy. I did not come from afar to place garlands of speech upon the grave of Seymour. My simple duty was, as I saw it, to pay respect to his memory by my personal presence on an occasion of deep interest to the citizens of Utica, and to myself, by furnishing in an anecdotal vein some side-lights upon a great character and a great life.



BUST OF

Hon. HORATIO SEYMOUR,

Presented by

Dr. GEORGE L. MILLER,

OF OMAHA, NEB.

FROM

SEYMOUR

Presented to

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE FEDERAL ERA IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

By Rev. E. P. Powell.

American history falls naturally into three periods. (1) That of the struggle between English and French factions, to establish special alliance and friendship between the young nation and their special favorites. This era lasted from 1778 to 1814. (2) That of the struggle of the two sections, North and South, to establish their diverse policies and institutions as national; lasting from 1820 to 1860. (3) The present struggle of Capital and Labor, to control production and distribution. Perhaps more exactly the first era should be termed a struggle to perpetuate party power; the second to establish sectional power; the third to establish class power. The first ended, not without war, in 1812-14; the second also with war in 1861-5; as for the third we at least hope for a peaceful solution. Sharp as was the controversy between North and South, it did not approach the virulence of that hate with which Federals wrestled with Anti-Federals under Washington and Adams; and again, in the desperation of defeat, undertook with Burr to split the Union in 1803-4; and once more in 1814.

That our republic came very near a reign of terrorism, and treading in the tracks of the French Revolution, is little considered at the present day. England and France entered upon a long protracted war in 1793. Our own war with England was barely over. The actors in that revolution were still in control of events. Our soldiers had become our civil officers. France had been our friend—had indeed saved us from defeat. The great mass of Americans loved the land of Lafayette with a passion warmer than the hatred borne toward England. During the Revolution we had solemnly promised, by a treaty with France, to help her in case of peril from England. France now turned to us for sympathy; expecting a return of her own gen-

erous help. Washington dreaded the task of meeting our obligation. Hamilton, always for petifogging, declared the treaty was only a defensive alliance; that we were not called upon to aid except in case of invasion. Jefferson declared this to be a contemptible subterfuge. But even when France was invaded we were not true to our pledges. A proclamation of neutrality was issued by us.

While the Federals were thus alienating France, and getting from Great Britain nothing but increased arrogance, it grew more and more apparent that we were drifting into war. It was difficult to say with which party we should first come to blows. The French were exceedingly angry at what they considered our perfidity; and began to retliate. The British Cabinet grew more and more aggressive. Our commerce was common plunder. At last England issued an Order in Council to seize all American vessels loaded with French produce. Now even the Federalists lost faith; and it was agreed that we should anticipate and prepare for another war with Great Britain.

In this dilemma it was determined by Hamilton and Washington to send a special envoy to England, to negotiate for a new treaty, and secure if possible an abatement of her overbearing and contemptuous insolence. John Jay was selected. In 1794 he sent over a copy of articles of agreement which, while securing very little that our country justly demanded, placed us by formal treaty in alliance with England, in preference to France. This was what the Federalists wished; therefore they were easily prepared to swallow the pill of national dishonor. France promptly terminated the alliance, which so far she had held sacred with us. In the throes of revolution we had played false to her. This was deeply to be regretted, because our influence on the turn and drift of events would greatly have aided Lafayette, and checked the extremists in France.

Afraid of the effect of the English treaty, it was vainly endeavored to keep it secret. It was signed November 19, 1794. It was not published until July 2nd, of the next year; and not till March 3, 1796 was it proclaimed by our government. Washington did

not sign it until August 15, 1795. Meanwhile Americans were divided into two camps or factions. The friends of England were few; but they were in power. The friends of France were the bulk of the people; but they were temporarily helpless. They were compelled to see the English plan of starving the French into submission selfishly seconded by our government. The Jay treaty, among other dishonorable stipulations, pledged us not to carry breadstuffs to France.

The French minister, Mr. Genet, a mere enthusiast with lack of brains, undertook to browbeat and defy our government. He only succeeded in strengthening the English party. He was sent out of the country by Washington. The French nation grew bitterly exasperated. Aiming to ingratiate ourselves with the English, we had lost our true friends. England seized our vessels and impressed our seamen. France began to retaliate in a manner quite as ruinous to our commerce. Two wars were now on the horizon. Napoleon had come into power, and his genius was dreaded. When Adams tried to secure a new treaty with France, they bluntly answered: "This time friendship will not count; you must pay for what you get in cash down." Talleyrand impudently and sarcastically offered to sell us a treaty.

It was a sad state of affairs; we had placed ourselves between two fires. The Federal or English party and the Anti-Federal or French party were all the more bitter and irrational. On the one side those out of power were inclined to take to mobs; those in power to acts of usurpation and tyrannous repression. We are not accustomed to think of the administration of Washington as stormy; or of his personal influence as weak. But it is probable that if any other Federal had, as President, signed the Jay treaty, he would have been overturned by revolution. As it was Washington's influence was strained to the utmost.

John Adams wrote to Jefferson in 1813 "You certainly never felt the terrorism of 1793, when ten thousand people in the streets of Philadelphia, day after day, threatened to drag Washington out of his house, and effect a revolution in the government; or else compel it to declare war in favor of the French Revolution and

against England. The coolest and firmest minds, even among the Quakers in Philadelphia, have given their opinions to me that nothing but the breaking out of yellow fever saved the United States from a fatal revolution in government."

The clergy, and New Englanders in general, naturally were strongly opposed to all affiliation with the French, because of their attacks on religion; not comprehending that the dei gratia church and dei gratia government must stand or fall together. To overthrow the monarchy of France was also to overthrow the dominant church. Excesses and enormites followed the early days of the French revolution, because the people were willing to accept an oligarchy in place of a monarchy. Had our republic been overturned in that critical hour, there is little doubt that the acts of the populace would have been violent and furious. How near we came to the wild scenes of the days of the Directory it is not pleasant to consider.

Fortunately for us the French did little to increase their influence. Their retaliatory acts on our commerce soon cooled the enthusiasm of their partisans. Had the Federals in power used rational measures, and shown a true love for the federalism, of which they claimed to be peculiarly representative, the country would have been pacified, and the people unified. But they did nothing of the sort. Legislation was made to bear with terrible weight on all who did not pronounce their shibboleth. Courts set with packed Federal juries. Federal judges delivered political harangues, instead of impartial charges. Marshals were ordered to put none but Federals on the juries. The people were tortured into madness. Then came, in 1797, the Alien and Sedition Acts. It was made a crime to sympathize with France; or to criticise the Anglicans. The Sedition act read "That if any person shall write, print, utter or publish, or shall cause or procure to be written, printed, uttered or published, or shall knowingly assist or aid in writing, printing, uttering or publishing any false slanderous and malicious writings against the government of the United States, or either House of the Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States, with the intent to defame the said government or to bring them into contempt; or to excite

against them,or either or any of them the hatred of the good people of the United States; or to stir up sedition within the United States; or to excite any unlawful combinations therein for opposing or resisting any law of the United States, or any act of the President of the United States, done in pursuance of any such law; then such person, being thereof convicted before any court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars and by imprisonmen: not exceeding two years."

Herein was determination on the part of the newly made central government to muzzle the press; and to prevent all such criticism as is common in political campaigns. Under the provisions of the Act, one congressman, Lyon of Vermont, while stumping his district for re-election, was arrested, imprisoned and fined. Many years later the United States paid back this fine to the heirs of the man, who dared to say about John Adams and his Cabinet, and the leading Federals, precisely what all students of history to-day say of them freely. A resident of Central New York, Judge Peck, of Otsego County, circulating a petition, asking Congress to repeal the odious Act, was indicted, and taken to New York for trial. The choler of the people rose so high that the trial never took place. His imprisonment was however quite as great an outrage. Lyon was an Irishman resident in Vermont. In an address to his constituents he charged Adams with "unbounded thirst for ridiculous pomp, foolish adulation and selfish avarice." He was arrested, tried in a Federal court, and sentenced to four months in jail, and a fine of one thousand dollars. While still in prison his constituents re-elected him to Congress. Confined as a prisoner, the Vermont Congressman of course could not take his seat. The people were growing less and less patient with such outrages. Several thousand persons petitoned to have Lyon's fine remitted —as he was a poor man. Adams demanded "penitence before pardon," and left him to endure to the full the penalty inflicted. When his four months' sentence was at last over, and he reappeared in Congress, the Federalists undertook to exclude him, on the score that he had been convicted of sedition.

It was not simply that the trial and punishment of Lyon was shameful, but the proof that it developed that the courts were as partisan as Congress. The judge abused the prisoner, and refused to allow him to challenge members of the jury, which was evidently packed to make sure of conviction. The jail in which he was confined was fireless and windowless, a den unfit for thieves. Those who tried to befriend him were themselves imprisoned.

From one end of the land to the other there was a tendency to mob law and violence. Liberty poles and liberty caps were denounced by the Federals as symbols of Jacobinism. The poles were cut down, but others were raised. Black cockades were the British symbol. They were in turn assaulted. Gallatin was mobbed in Pennsylvania, and burned in effigy in New Jersey, as a foreigner and Frenchman. In turn, Adams, while passing through New York, was tendered the use of the barge of a British frigate; whereupon the gunners who manned the battery to salute him threw down their matches. Republicans retaliated abuse for abuse. A vast amount of nonsense was reported and believed by both parties. But steadily the British party lost ground. Liberty poles became universal; black cockades were out of sight. Election after election went for the Republicans. The people revived, to the full, the memory of Benjamin Franklin; and drank toasts to the honor of Thomas Jefferson.

Ten printers and editors were however prosecuted for sedition. Among these were Benjamin Franklin Bache, Abijah Adams, Thomas Frothingham, Thomas Cooper and William Duane. The case of James Thompson Callender caused the greatest excitement. The already notorious Judge Chase harangued against the accused, and ordered the marshal to put none but Federalists on the jury. He threatened to take the lawyers of Callender over his knees and spank them.

The Alien Acts were twin monsters. They gave the President power to banish any aliens suspected by him to be dangerous to the safety and peace of the United States. They read. "That it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, at

any time, to order all such aliens as he shall judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or shall have reasonable grounds to suspect are concerned in any treasonable or secret machinations against the government thereof, to depart out of the territory of the United States, within such time as shall be expressed in such order; which order shall be served on such alien, by delivering him a copy thereof, or leaving the same at his usual abode." Without arrest, or trial, the President thus had power over the people of the States who were "foreign-born." This arbitrary power exceeded that of any King of Europe. For an exiled alien to return, subjected him to imprisonment at the mercy and will of the President. The execution of these outrages was carefully committed to Federal courts, and not to the State courts. The object was in the main to crush out French sentiment, and get rid of Frenchmen who, like Gallatin, were dreaded leaders of the Anti-Federal party. As first drafted the Sedition Act declared, in its first section, that the people of France were the "enemies of the United States;" and that "adherence to them, giving them aid or comfort, was treasonable and punishable with death." Hamilton, who had first proposed these measures, believed this passage went too far, and it was expunged. All this, it must be remembered, was done during the life of the very men whose personal liberty the French had fought for; and this high-handed usurpation was attempted within ten years after the adoption of the Constitution. Not even yet being able to get at Gallatin, who was a naturalized citizen, those legislatures that were in the hands of the Federalists proposed a constitutional amendment, disqualifying from service in Congress all but native-born citizens. Meanwhile the naturalization laws were so altered as to place every foreigner under espionage, and extend the requisite for citizenship to a term of fourteen years. Fisher Ames, one of the ablest of the Massachusetts Federalists, declared the Alien and Sedition Acts erred only in leniency.

Did the Federalists themselves feel bound by the Sedition Acts? Not in the least. Hamilton himself wrote: "A letter from Alexander Hamilton concerning the public conduct and char-

acter of John Adams, Esq., President of the United States." He used language more vigorous than that which sent Lyon to jail. He declared Adams to be "A man of disgusting egotism, of distempered jealousy, and ungovernable indiscretion." It was a lampoon of the most virulent sort. Why was he not arrested and tried for sedition? No one suggested such a course. The Act was a party law; intended to crush opposition from outside the ranks. Such an era of scandal and slander never before or since existed.

If called to name the meanest man in American history, I should select Major General Wilkinson, the man who mated Burr in worst crimes, and then betrayed him; the man who, while commanding our troops in the Mississippi Valley, received an annual stipend from the King of Spain, to use his influence to create in that section a spirit hostile to the Union and favorable to Spain. But as a close second, it would not be difficult to settle upon Timothy Pickering; a man who was in both the cabinet of Washington and that of Adams, but was treacherously false to Adams from first to last. A narrow Puritan, born one-sided, and incapable of seeing a whole united country, or any fellowship between those of diverse faiths; the leader in a plot to break the Union and create a New England Confederacy; this Timothy was above all men instigator of vicious Federal legislation. He insistently urged Adams to execute the Alien and Sedition Acts to the extreme of his power. He wished delegated to himself and to the other heads of departments, power to act for the President while the latter was absent from the seat of government. No Adams was ever a bigot; however violent his political prejudices. John Adams was by all odds the most honest statesman of his party. He refused to make Pickering his substitute for evil or for good. More than this, he was very slow in using the dictatorial power conferred upon him by Congress. But under the Sedition Act his vanity got its revenge. Passing through Newark in 1799, his friends greeted him with a cannon. A man named Baldwin wished the wadding of the gun might hit the President in the backsides. He was ar-

rested, and had to pay one hundred dollars. If we had blue laws in the church, we had black laws in the state.

While Hamilton plotted, Jefferson acted. He believed the liberties which had been fought for were about to be wholly sacrificed. This conviction had been growing in his mind ever since he returned from France, and came in contact with the powers that were. The official circles he declared were not republican in sentiment; that not a few of the leaders were monarchical. The time had come for a bold stand on the part of those who loved popular liberty. He was ably seconded by Madison; both of whom were soon to be called by the people to establish a broader basis to our institutions. It was not a mistake that the Federals had committed; it was an act fully in line with the drift of the party. Jefferson drew up a set of resolutions, to be adopted by the Virginia Legislature, and by its western child Kentucky. Madison modified that passed by Virginia. These resolutions have often been referred to as acts of nullification. They declared it to be the duty of the State to interpose, and prevent unconstitutional usurpation of the General Government.

The Virginia Resolutions said: "This assembly explicitly and peremptorily declares that it views the powers of the Federal government, as resulting from the compact to which the States are parties, as no farther valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that in case of a deliberate palpable and dangerous exercise of the powers not granted by the said compact, the States who are parties thereto have the right, and are in duty bound to interpose for arresting the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them." The General Assembly further protested against the palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution, in the cases of the Alien and Sedition Acts; which "by uniting legislative and judicial powers to the executive, subvert the general principles of free government." The Kentucky Resolution more bluntly asserted that "the several States comprising the United States of America are

not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their general government, but that by compact they constitute a general government for special purposes;" furthermore, "that whensoever the general government assumes undelegated power its acts are unauthoritative, void, of no force." The same resolution affirmed that the general government is not by the Constitution made final judge of the extent of powers delegated to itself. It was further resolved that "alien friends are under the jurisdiction and protection of the laws of the State wherein they are; that a statute ordering them to leave any State at the simple dictation of a President is null and void."

Meanwhile, our foreign relations were not improved. England crowded upon us with intolerable insults. Our war vessels were overhauled, and seamen forcibly taken into their own service by British commanders. Adams alone of the Federals had the grit of true Americanism. He sent word to our commanders not to submit to search; but to resist to the utmost. "If overpowered strike your flag and yield your vessel; but not the men without the vessel." With France also war seemed imminent.

During the excitement the Federals undertook the creation of a provisional army. They proposed to augment the army that existed to 13,000. Hamilton demanded 50,000; to be officered by Washington, and by three major generals and four brigadier generals. The selection of the three major generals was left to Washington; who named Hamilton, Charles Pinckney and Knox. Pickering and others hastened to urge that Hamilton be placed second in command. Later events make no question why it was specially desired to have this advocate of centralization practically at the head of an army. Adams nominated the three men named by Washington, and they were confirmed by the Senate. Knox was senior by rank in the revolutionary army; and justly claimed the seniority. Adams agreed to the justice of the demand. But Hamilton had intrigued with Washington, and in every possible direction to override the decision of the President. Washington was induced to ask that Knox be degraded in favor of Hamilton. The President yielded with ill

grace and with indignant anger; whereupon Knox refused his commission altogether. Adams privately remarked that Hamilton had no claims whatever to high military rank, he was "a foreigner, a person of comparatively low rank in the late army, with no popularity anywhere in America; and of merits which were estimated as diversely as those of Calvin."

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The object of Hamilton in desiring to stand next in military rank to Washington may have been simple vanity. It does not look like that to a careful student. While Jefferson was a candidate for President, Hamilton cast all his weight for Pinckney. On one occasion, speaking to the toast, "A strong government," he said publicly, "If Mr. Pinckney is not elected President, a revolution will be the consequence; and within the next four years I will lose my head or be the leader of a triumphant army." Did he intend to establish his favorite "Strong Government" by force? There is no question about his contempt for common people; and his utter distrust of them as factors in government.

But apart from this general purpose of using the army as he had used our finances, for securing an aristocratic government, Hamilton with Pickering, had on foot a secret plot with Great Britain; to engage in a joint plundering expedition against Spanish possessions in America. The propositon was for the United States to furnish an army, while England furnished a navy, for the conquest of Florida, Louisiana and Mexico; the two powers to divide the spoils. This would bring us into collision with France as well as Spain; while we were an ally of Great Britain. What would thus become of the petted policy of neutrality? Plainly it was neutrality only when France asked for sympathy.

"Vaulting ambition doth overleap itself and fall on the other side." Hamilton had made a breach in Federal unity that was impassible. From this time Adams began to suspect him and Pickering to be leaders of an unscrupulous following; and he watched them with lynx-eyed hatred. The plot thickened. Miranda, the London agent, wrote to Hamilton: "All is ready for your President to give the word." But the President would not

give the word. Indeed he stood as far as possible in the way of every effort of a fillibustering sort.

Hamilton, never subdued, however balked, turned to an effort to crush the States by securing an amendment to the Constitution, allowing Congress to subdivide the larger States at will. He also favored an extension of the power of the Federal judiciary. A third propositon was to keep the army on a war footing, with a military academy, and manufactories of all kinds of army supplies. War with France was however what Hamilton desired. It looked in the early part of 1799 as if such war would surely break out very soon. But Talleyrand and Napoleon did not intend to have war on this continent. Adams sent a commission to France to negotiate; and it must be said that he not only completely baffled the conspirators at home, but pacified France, while yielding nothing of our honor. In fact the cordial intent between the two nations was restored; and from that time to the present has never been broken.

Hamilton still pressed on his machinations; urging that even though matters with France were quieted, the army should be kept on a war footing. Besides the eventual security against invasion, "we ought to look," he urged, "at the possession of the Floridas and Louisiana; and we ought to squint at South America." It seems as though the work of Napoleon had stirred this western Creole to an idea of similar continental conquest.

The first act of American history, as full of comedy as of tragedy, was about to close. The people had no interest in Hamilton's buccaneering ambitions. The Federal leaders had not trusted the populace; the populace had learned slowly to suspect their leaders. The elections of 1799 went overwhelmingly against the Federals. They were about forever to lose control of American politics.

Of the leaders of the Federal party Washington had labored sincerely for a united people. His predilections and convictions led him to favor a strong central government. His military life had given him a basis for that sort of authority which controls in time of war. But it is the unanimous testimony of all parties

that Washington was faithful to the people, and to the Union, which he had helped to create. John Adams, the second President, was by heredity a believer in the rights of the few to govern the many; but he had gone slowly over to democracy—finally becoming the most ardent friend and supporter of Thomas Jefferson. Of Hamilton it is difficult to speak in terms which recognize at the same time his brilliant intellect and his restless ambition. He quarrelled with and maligned John Adams. He plotted against Jefferson. He broke with Madison. He lost the confidence of John Jay. He crowded Burr to the wall, and at last lost his life as the result of ungoverned ambition and wretched political intrigues. He seems to have been bewitched with the idea of becoming the Napoleon of the Western Continent. From first to last he was never satisfied with the honors which he received. As late as 1802 he proposed to quit the States. He wrote: "Every day proves to me more and more that this American world was not made for me." Alas for him, it does not seem certain that any world was made for him. He referred to the Constitution as "a frail and worthless fabric." But he asserted his intention to "prop it up as long as possible." Of the rest of the leaders of the Federal party nothing distinctive need be said, except what occurs in the course of the narrative. Washington died in 1799. Adams was on his way over to Republicanism. What a pity we cannot at this point dismiss the remainder from further consideration. But unfortunately we cannot do this.

It must be remembered that the term federal had been originally applied to those who favored the adoption of the Constitution of 1789. But the machinery of the government, once under way, was in the hands of a small ring of very able, but very selfish leaders. These held onto the name federal as if it were distinctively their own, and by that means strengthened power which they intended to make perpetual. The result was that in place of federals and anti-federals the country was divided into Federals and anti-Federals. In the year 1800 Jefferson, who was the recognized head of the growing opposition, was elected President. The change in national policy was so great

that Jefferson himself termed it a revolution. The Alien and Sedition Acts were abrogated; the scheme for a large standing army was done away with; taxes were reduced one-half; while the financial policy of Hamilton, based on a war debt, was reversed by Gallatin. The revolutionary debt, which had been left unpaid by the Federal party, as well as the one million annual deficit incurred by them was paid by the Republicans. A rule of economy was rigidly enforced.

It was not however a mere revolution in finance. The rule of the select few gave way to the rule of the democracy. The Federal party had been accustomed to insist upon what they called government by "The Best." They did not believe in the capacity of the people for self-government. Hamilton at a banquet in New York City, responding to the toast, "The People," said, striking his fist on the table, "The people, sir! the people is a great beast." Jefferson on the contrary, believed in the people. His philosophy was "Better trust honest hearts with uncultured heads, than educated brains with dishonest hearts." "In the long run," he said, "the people can be trusted to correct any errors of judgment they may commit." But the selection of Mr. Jefferson for President was not allowed to go unchallenged. By existing custom the President and Vice-President were simply the man who received the most votes, and the man who received the second most. Jefferson and Burr had received the same votes, and the same number. The Federalists in Congress dropped their own candidates, and joined with the friends of Burr to elect him over Jefferson, in defiance of the plain desire of the people. A desperate struggle was entered upon. Not until the thirty-sixth ballot, was this plot to circumvent the voters, and make a President of the man they had elected Vice-President, overcome.

It is interesting at this point to read Jefferson's political platform, drawn up by himself. He wrote Elbridge Gerry, "With sincere zeal, I wish an inviolable preservation of our present Federal Constitution, according to the true sense in which it was adopted by the States; that in which it was advocated by its

friends; and not that which its enemies apprehended, who therefore became its enemies. I am opposed to the monarchizing its features by the forms of its administration; with a view to conciliate at first a transition to a President and Senate for life; and from that to a hereditary tenure of these offices; and thus to worm out the elective principle. I am for preserving to the States the powers not yielded by them to the Union; and to the legislature of the Union its constitutional share in the division of powers; and I am not for transferring all the powers of the States to the general government. I am for a government frugal, and simple; applying all the possible savings of the public revenue to the discharge of the national debt. I am not for a multiplication of officers and salaries, merely to make partisans; and for increasing by every device the public debt, on the principle of its being a public blessing. I am for relying for internal defense on our militia solely, till actual invasion; and for such a naval force only as may protect our coasts and harbors from depredation. I am not for a standing army in time of peace; nor for a navy which by its own expenses will grind us with public burdens. I am for free commerce with all nations; political connection with none; and little or no diplomatic establishments. I am not for linking ourselves by treaties with the quarrels of Europe. I am for freedom of religion; and against all maneuvers to bring about a legal ascendency of one sect over another. I am for freedom of the press; and against all violations of the Constitution to silence by force and not by reason, the complaints or criticisms of our citizens against the conduct of their agents. And I am for the encouraging the progress of science in all its branches. The first object of my heart is my own country. In that is embarked my family, my fortune, and my own existence. I have not one farthing of interest nor one fibre of attachment out of it; nor a single preference of any one nation to another, only in proportion as they are more friendly, or less, to us."

Antagonism to Jefferson was not however the last act of Federalism. The party was indeed dead; but the leaders were not. Near the close of Burr's service as Vice-President New York

was to elect a Governor. Burr entered the list as candidate of the Republican party. The great leaders of "The Best" in New England put their heads together, and in their desperation over political defeat, resolved to form an alliance with Burr; elect him governor of New York, and then with him establish a Northern Confederacy, breaking up the Union which had been so recently formed. This was in 1803.

Pickering and Wolcott, both of whom had been in Washington's cabinet and in Adams, were leaders in this conspiracy. Governor Griswold of Connecticut, wrote: "If Colonel Burr be elevated in New York to the office of governor by the votes of Federalists, must he not become the head of the Northern movement? But what else can we do?" Pickering wrote: "The Federalists anxiously desire the election of Mr. Burr. If a separation of the Union occur, the New England States, New York and New Jersey would naturally be united." Judge Reeve of Connecticut, wrote to Tracy who was in Congress: "I have seen many of our friends ,and all that I have seen, and most that I have heard from, believe we must separate; and that this is the most favorable moment." Pickering wrote that the proposition would "be welcomed in Connecticut, and could we doubt of New Hampshire; but New York must be associated; she must be made the center of the confederacy. Vermont and New Jersey would follow of course; Rhode Island of necessity." Ex-Governor Wolcott wrote: "The project which we had formed was to induce the legislatures of the three New England States which remained Federal, to commence measures which would call for a reunion of the Northern States." Cabot wrote that he thought that a separation at the present time was impracticable; but that "we would go the way of all popular governments; from bad to worse." "We are too democratic altogether, and I hold democracy to be the government of the worst." Hamilton wrote to Colonel Smith, the son-in-law of John Adams, to go to Boston, and tell the leaders for God's sake to cease these threatenings about the dissolution of the Union. "It must be made," he said, "to hang together as long as it can be made to." The result of this conspiracy was the defeat of Burr; but by a very nar-

row majority of only 7,000 in the whole State; while he actually carried New York City. His defeat was due to the fact that Hamilton had refused to aid the other Federal leaders in lifting his rival into supreme power, over his own head. Burr was now stranded; he had lost all claim on the Republican party; and the Federals had failed to hold him up. He promptly challenged the man to whom he laid his political ruin, and shot him. The story of the duel is fresh in our minds. It removed from New York politics the two brightest and ablest men in the State; and the two least to be trusted.

This disastrous and terribly tragic outcome of treasonable plotting ought to have eliminated Federalism from any farther connection with our history. But it was destined to play one more act. England in 1806 declared a blockade of all French ports; France retorted in a warlike manner. They might have fought out their struggle alone without our concern, but it was decreed by England that America should not sell a cargo in Europe without going through her ports and paying a license. Nor could the same vessel return home with a cargo, without similar humiliation and outrage. Napoleon declared that all such vessels had become practically English, and subject to confiscation if he caught them. And between the two they did capture many of our vessels. England also refused to give up the posts on our western frontier that by treaty she had pledged to evacuate. She also claimed the right to overhaul our vessels on the ocean, taking therefrom anyone claimed to be a British seaman. Jefferson endured this state of affairs as well as possible; but Madison, who was elected President in 1808, declared that we were practically in a state of war. After six years of efforts to secure our rights, the United States, finally, in 1812, voted in Congress to take up the English challenge and fight.

The Federalists who were in Congress immediately published a manifesto, declaring the war would be unwise, and advising their constituents by all possible means to hinder its prosecution. This suggestion was followed very promptly by town meetings; and by legislative action in two or three of the New Eng-

land States, to nullify the act of Congress. Volunteers were arrested by courts, and prevented from leaving their States. Banks refused aid. New York was as loyal as Virginia; while the new Western States bristled with patriotism. The governor of Vermont ordered his State troops not to go out of the State lines. They retorted that they were in the service of the United States; and that his power over them was suspended. Enough mischief was wrought to make our land campaign disastrous; but our naval exploits were brilliant in the extreme. After Lawrence's splendid sea fight and victory, the whole nation held a holiday; but the Massachusetts legislature passed a resolution that it did not become a religious people to express any approbation of military or naval exploits, not strictly defensive. This was only to make religion as disloyal as politics. The detestable Timothy Pickering was in clover. He presided at a meeting that passed resolutions favoring disunion. It is amazing, if not indeed amusing, but Daniel Webster's first appearance as a public man was to offer to a mass meeting in his State this resolution: "If a separation should take place it will be when one portion of the country undertakes to control, to regulate and to sacrifice the interests of another." The two ends of Daniel Webster are equally unfortunate; but we can pardon all for the glorious middle. The fact was New England was at that time not a manufacturing country, but depended for its wealth almost entirely upon ocean commerce. The war injured her trade seriously. The people were sore and distressed. This gave the old Federal leaders a chance to play a part as friends of the people. For a short period the people were fooled; but John Adams the ex-President, was watching the traitors; and behind him was a growing New England constituency loyal to the core. Jefferson wrote that the defection of Massachusetts broke his heart; but that it would not be fatal to the interests of the country. Madison was perplexed beyond measure; and almost crushed by the burdens unnecessarily heaped upon him. In fact we came near being defeated in the war by Federal treachery.

In October of 1814 treason culminated in the famous Hartford Convention. In this convention delegates from Massachu-

setts, Rhode Island and Connecticut participated. The Boston Centinel spoke of these States as "the first three pillars in a new Federal edifice." The resolutions passed by this Convention proposed a separate treaty with England, and to demand of Congress separate control of taxes. Pickering wrote: "If the British succeed against New Orleans, and I see no doubt of their success, I shall consider the Union severed." Delegates started for Washington to lay their nullifying demands before Congress. When they got to Washington they met two astounding facts. (1) A peace with England had been signed, in which the United States were from every standpoint victorious. England had yielded everything. (2) Instead of the British troops taking New Orleans they had had the worst whipping any army had ever had on this continent, if not in the world. The fiasco was charmingly complete. The brave committee never made known their errand; but slunk back homeward, to endure the chaff of their neighbors, and the scorn of posterity. So went out the rule of "The Best." So was firmly established the rule of the people in America.

"The people, sir! are not always right;
The people, Mr. Gray! are seldom wrong."

NEW ENGLAND IN NEW YORK.

By Hon. Stephen Holden.

When a schoolboy, I had the benefit of an edition of Virgil which kindly assisted defective imaginations, by the suggestion, in a note, that the expression "bringing Troy into Italy" was not to be taken literally.

My subject is New England in New York, and I am willing that the words be taken in a literal sense. New England was made up, partly of granite, and partly of men. Great masses of both have come into this State; the men first; the monuments later.

Colonial New York was an empire, in prospect. The physical geography of the region has not changed. Here, then as now, was the gateway of the Continent, the shortest distance from the ocean to the great lakes, and the lowest summit to pass. Here were the lands and waters which for all purposes of utility, and for scenic beauty, are not surpassed in the world. Crowding on the east was New England, with a superabundant population, at the close of the colonial period, and with a social, political, and moral system fully developed. The destined march of New England across the continent must have its first stage in New York.

As an English colony New York had had a meagre growth. When its connection with Holland was severed, an end was made to emigration from that country. Possibly the presence of Dutch settlers may have tended to deter the English, except such as were concerned in the government of the colony. Besides, the colonizing spirit was on the wane in England. For nearly a century preceding our revolution, there was scarcely any movement of population from the mother country to the colonies. Probably the great mass of the English were insensible of the fact that the Americans were their countrymen and kinsmen. The story of the settlement of Georgia, the last settled of the

thirteen revolting colonies, begun under the supervision of General Ogelthorpe in 1732, is in point. Only the indigent and improvident could be obtained from England, but upon the failure of the effort to get desirable colonists from there, resort was had, with better success, to Scotland, Germany and Switzerland.

Fear of the Indians was another hindrance to settlement. Of all the colonies, New York had the most dangerous frontier, as long as the French were masters of Canada.

There may be room for speculation as to the causes of the slow growth of the colony. The evidences of the fact are abundant.

The complete organization of the colonial government under English rule may be dated from November 1, 1683, when the first counties were erected. Ten of our present counties are of that date. The county of Albany included more than seven-eights of the territory, or all north of the Delaware and a line extending from the head of that river to the eastern boundary of the colony by way of the north line of Dutchess County. So slow was the advance of settlement that no new county was erected until 1772, when Charlotte and Tryon Counties were added, and they were the last until independence was secured. The names were changed, Charlotte to Washington and Tryon to Montgomery, April 2, 1784, at the first session of the legislature after the treaty of peace by which Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States. (The legislature seems to have been afraid to take liberties with the names of the queen consort and the royal governor, while the result of the war was uncertain.)

The central figure in Tryon County was Sir William Johnson, and the population consisted mainly of the Germans on the Mohawk and Schoharie. Charlotte County was peopled by the movement which created the State of Vermont, with a small contingent of Scotch and Scotch Irish. Settlers from England were noticeably wanting in both.

The royal governors caused enumerations of the inhabitants of the colony to be made, by which the population appears to have been:

In 1737..... 60,437.
In 1749..... 73,448.
In 1756..... 96,765.
In 1771.....168,007.

The figures show an annual increase of a little less than one and two-thirds per centum from 1737 to 1749, a little more than four and one-half from 1749 to 1756 and of a little more than four and nine-tenths from 1756 to 1771, the calculation in each case being based on the statement of population at the beginning of the period. The next official count of the entire population was that of 1790, the first census taken under the provisions of the constitution of the United States. (I think there was an enumeration of the white inhabitants in 1783, but I have not taken the trouble to get the figures.) In 1790 New York was found to have a population of 340,120, having a little more than doubled in the nineteen years from 1771, and to rank fifth among the States; the order being Virginia, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Massachusetts, New York. During this period was the War of Independence lasting from 1775 to 1783. If we group events of that war, Ticonderaga in 1775; Long Island and the capture of New York and the forts in 1776; Saratoga and Oriskany in 1777; the massacres in 1778; Stony Point and Sullivan's raid in 1779; the occupation of the metropolis from its capture to the day of exacuation after the treaty of peace, and the consequent presence of Washington with the principal part of his army in the neighborhood of the city, most of the time of its occupation by the enemy, it will appear that at least half of the military events of the revolution took place within the boundaries of New York. During that stormy period new settlements were not and could not be planted. In fact, contraction instead of expansion was what took place.

The increase of population shown by the census of 1790, therefore, must be credited, in the main to the last six years, or the period begining with the pioneer settlement in this vicinity, that of Hugh White at Whitestown in 1784. But the census figures show that the number of settlers in this vicinity in 1790 could not

have been great. Of 340,120 people in the state at that time, 183,751, or considerably more than three-fifths were east of the Hudson and on the three islands. The distribution of the population as shown by the census of 1771 is in greater doubt, owing to the fact that Albany County at that time included all the territory east of the Hudson and north of Dutchess.

The map of the colony published by Governor Tryon in 1779 is a blank as to the country west of the line of property, of which line the Unadilla river is the enduring mark and monument, but a large part of the territory which that map shows to have been parceled out into patents was equally destitute of population.

Of the number of people in New England at the time of the revolution I shall not weary you with the details, except in a single particular. In the first Congress under the constitution the question of contributions of men, by the several states, to the armies of the revolution came up, and the numbers were obtained from the official records. Of the 231,701 men furnished by all the states, the four little New England states furnished 118,271, more than one-half, a little over fifty per cent. Massachusetts leading with 67,907, while the largest number furnished by any state outside of New England was Virginia's 28,678.

The campaigning of these soldiers was not in New England, to any great extent, after the opening at Lexington and Bunker Hill.

By their service in the other states they acquired knowledge of the lands, they visited, which knowledge they carried back to their homes and shared with their neighbors.

There is no agency for the diffusion of intelligence so effective as war. We know that in our time, or the time of some of us, four years of the contact of armies did more for the diffusion of knowledge of the different parts of the country among the inhabitants of the other parts, than a century of journalism. The veterans of the war of 1776 became leaders in the movement to new lands. The great movement of population which followed was foreseen by the soldiers during the progress of the war, and one at least has left a record of his prescience.

General Sullivan, in his report of his campaign in this state dated September 30, 1779, says:

"The Oneida Sachem requested me to grant his people liberty "to hunt in the country of the Five Nations, as they would never "think of settling again in a country once subdued, and where "their settlements must ever be in our power. I, in answer, in- "formed him that I had no authority to grant such a license, that "I could not at present see reason to object to it, but advised "them to make application to Congress, who, I believed, would, "in consideration of their friendly conduct, grant them every ad- "vantage of the kind that would not interfere with our settle- "ment of the country, which I believed would soon take place."

It is not likely that the ideas of General Sullivan were in advance of the ideas of other New England men of the same class. How the veterans of the revolution availed themselves of the knowledge gained in their campaigns, can be partly learned and partly imagined from the list of pensioners, by towns, ascertained by the census of 1840 and published by the United States government. That list made fifty-nine years after the end of the fighting, can only contain the names of the longest livers, but it helps us to imagine what the number of veterans among the settlers must have been originally.

This state was first shown to have become the leading state in population, by the census of 1820, taken a generation after the adoption of the constitution of the United States.

The effect of the formation of a more perfect union in promoting the movement of population from one state to another, is too obvious to call for comment.

New York in 1820 had a population of 1,372,812, or more than four times that of 1790. Of that number not less than three-fourths were New Englanders or the descendants of New Englanders. The question is I admit one for difference of opinion. Exact proof is not possible, but a fair consideration of the historical evidence will lead to that conclusion. Timothy Dwight, who died in 1817, estimated that over three-fifths of the people

of this state were of New England origin and that the number was rapidly increasing. His book does not show the date of that opinion, but I think it not later than 1812. President Dwight had traveled through many towns in the state and recorded his observations.

The rapidity with which an unbroken wilderness was transformed into a populous farming community, containing as many people as could find profitable employment on the soil, is something marvelous and without parallel. My own town may be taken as an example, probably not remarkable. The first settlement was made in 1793, the territory then being part of the town of Paris in the county of Herkimer. In 1810 Sherburne had 2,510 inhabitants all of New England origin, more than five-sixths of the present number. Of the counties, Otsego shows the most rapid growth of all in population, in that early period. Having an area one-sixth smaller than Oneida, it had a larger population than Oneida, both in 1800 and 1810, owing doubtless to the fact that when the great movement began the settlers from the east found there the nearest unoccupied territory. Since 1810 Otsego has been nearly stationery, not having added one-third to the number of people shown by the census of that year.

In the school district, near the center of that county, where I passed the first twenty years of my life, all the people were of New England origin, except the family of one original settler who was born in the Mohawk valley and of German descent, while his wife was Scotch-Irish, from the Cherry Valley settlement. Some school districts in the vicinity did not contain an inhabitant who was not of New England origin. These are fair samples of the region with which I was acquainted.

There was no intermediate stage of isolated settlements and neighborless families. Almost from the first there were materials for the organization of schools and churches. These communities were able to supply nearly all wants, as wants then were. The mechanic arts were practiced throughout the rural districts. The farmers took an active part in public life. In my native town of Hartwick, which was not singular in that re-

spect, the office of supervisor was not held by a resident of any village or hamlet during the first thirty years. The people back on the hills were just as much a part of society and as influential in all things as the dwellers in villages.

We hear it said that New York increased rapidly in population after the Erie Canal was constructed. In fact New York had reached the first rank as a state, without the aid of canal or railroad. The great migration was performed with such means of locomotion as the people themselves possessed. I read an original letter written when the movement was at high tide.

Chesterfield, State of Massachusetts, March 1, A. D.1794.

Dear Father: With pleasure I inform you of my journey. The first night we staid at Cousin Manton's four miles from Providence; the second night at Capt. Felser's, at Killingly, 24 miles from Cousin Manton's; third night at Mr. Warren's, Palmer, 18 miles; the fourth night at Mr. Smith's, Belchertown, 21 miles; fifth night we now are at Mr. Stone's, Chesterfield, 15 miles, crossed Connecticut river this morning at Northhampton on ice; have had very good sledding from Providence, and weather, the best sledding I ever saw. People say it is very good up to Otsego. I expect to travel to-morrow. Cousin George Fenner has traveled in company with us. He began Thursday and is now with us, he and his family, going to the Royal Grants to Benjamin Bowen's. My oxen work very well. We are all well. I am very hearty. I brought a hundred and twenty dollars with me. I hope these lines will find you in good health. Remember me to mother and family. I am your loving son,

"To RANDALL HOLDEN. STEPHEN HOLDEN."

Look at the map for Killingly Ct. and Palmer, Belchertown, Northampton and Chesterfield, Mass. It is the direct road to Albany, along which flowed the stream of population, going thence up the Mohawk, and dividing, some going south to Otsego, others north to the Royal Grants; and others still past where we are now. If you look in French's Gazeteer published

in 1800, you will find in a foot note, Benjamin Bowen and George Penner among the first settlers of the town, of Newport, Herkimer County.

The people who said that the sledding was very good up to Otsego must have been those who had assisted their friends to their new homes, and were on their return.

That letter was as free from the payment of postage, as if it had had the frank of a member of Congress. While the great migration was in progress the United States mails were not used or needed. Letters were intrusted, as the superscription indicates this to have been, to any casual traveler, who would carry it to its destination, or if not going so far, as far as he was going on its course and leave it at a wayside inn, to be carried through by other strangers.

The main stream flowed through Albany, but there was another smaller but not small, by way of Catskill, to the head waters of the Delaware and the eastern branches of the Susquehanna. Here was the first New England settlement in the interior of the state, that at Harpersfield, which was abandoned during the war and was restored in 1784, the year of the settlement of Whitestown. Harpersfield as well as Whitestown and Otsego was made a town in Montgomery County by the act of March 7, 1788. That act seems to be the first legislative recognition of the importance of the new settlements. Whitestown now seems to be far the most important of these settlements, owing to the fact that it is on the great thoroughfare which leads across the continent, while those other settlements are aside from the main line. By the construction of the Great Western Turnpike from Albany to Cherry Valley in 1802, a new route was established which took part of the travel which would otherwise have gone along the Mohawk. I have directed attention to the events before the year 1820, because up to that date there were no improved means of travel, because the movement of population from other countries to this had not yet acquired force, and because so much of the growth which had brought the fifth state

to the rank of first had been made in the region which we call Central New York.

The development of Western New York was a generation later. Until 1821 there was no county of Monroe, and no county of Erie.

Perhaps nothing marks more accurately than the creation of counties the progress of the state in population and settlement. Of our sixty counties, thirty-five were erected between 1790 and 1820.

But New England was in the older parts of the state as well as the newer. For more than two hundred years the eastern part of Long Island has been in everything but jurisdiction a part of New England. The people were of the same origin and character, and the earliest settlements were due to the same impulse. The pursuits of the people were the same. Sag Harbor as well as New Bedford was a whaling port. In the case of Sanger v. Merrit (reported in 120 N. Y., page 109) Judge Follett determined a question of title to lands in the town of Huntington, by referring to the customs of the early settlers of New England in allotting lands.

The Long Island Yankees took part with the others in the movement of population under consideration. Gen. William Floyd was of this class.

The counties east of the Hudson, also, have received large accessions from New England. The movement began before the revolution. Two of the most distinguished of the natives of this state are James Kent, born in the county of Putnam (then part of Dutchess) in 1763, and Daniel D. Tompkins, born in the county of Westchester in 1774. Both were of New England parentage. Many New England families which were among the first settlers of the central part of the state, had had a temporary sojourn in the eastern counties. We have a living witness of that fact almost as old as the letter I have read to you. My venerable friend Hon. Joseph Benedict was born in Westchester County of New England parents, in 1801, and removed to Sherburne in time to be counted in 1810.

At least half of the people of the counties east of the Hudson today are of New England origin. The same is true of the counties west of that river, which were originally settled by people who traced descent from Holland or Germany. Towns in Greene County, and even two or three towns in Schoharie were as distinctively Yankee as the average town in this quarter. The new settlers also filled up all the vacant room in the towns where the old Dutch settlements were, and surrounded them with overwhelming numbers.

The numbers and location of the emigrants from the different states is a subject requiring more research than I have time to make. In Sherburne I think the Connecticut element is predominant, although there are considerable numbers from Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island. In my native town Rhode Islanders were the most numerous. In adjoining towns was a large force of Vermonters, showing, I think, to some extent the evidence of several generations of frontier life. At Watertown, in the north, I found settlers from Connecticut. The town of Franklin, in Delaware County was settled almost entirely from Connecticut. This last fact may have been owing to the nearness of Connecticut by way of Catskill, but the settlers of all the other places named came by way of Albany, and the choice of location could not have been determined by considerations of nearness to old homes. In many cases men from New Hampshire and Vermont turned toward the South and men from Rhode Island and Connecticut towards the north. I think I should make a further exception. The erection of the county of Clinton so early as March 7, 1788, makes it evident that there was an early movement from Vermont across Lake Champlain.

In claiming that this state owes its advance to the first rank among the states to the movement of population from New England, I have not overlooked the fact that in the period in question, settlers from other than the New England states, and from foreign countries, found homes in New York. William Cooper, the founder of Cooperstown, was from New Jersey. Gen. Jacob Brown came to Jefferson County from Pennsylvania. Gen. Wil-

liam Kernan, the founder of Tyrone in Steuben County, (now Schuyler County), was from Ireland. Some of the leading men in the western part of the state were from Maryland. Some English families of prominence came in. The movement from Wales was begun. But, I think, without the aid of any of these, New York would still have been the first state in the Union in 1820, by virtue of the migration from New England alone.

How the descendants of the earlier colonists from Holland and Germany regarded this horde of invaders from Yankeedom, is a question upon which it is almost, but not quite, too late to obtain evidence.

There are still living a few representatives of those earlier elements, who remember the time when the baser sort of their people could scarcely mention the New England settlers without profanity. The bitter feeling has wholly passed away. Most have forgotten it. The few who remember are satisfied that the filling up of the state by the New Englanders was an immense benefit to the people who were already here. That there should have been antipathy, at first, was natural and pardonable. To be compelled to speak the language of strangers in one's own home, and to adopt their customs, to be in effect, in a foreign land which has been brought to you, is enough to exasperate any people. The Dutch had received kindly the small accessions of Huguenots, Scotch-Irish and other elements which had come into the colony. But the case was different. There were not enough of these to change the character of the community. They were a welcome addition to the strength of a weak colony.

There is no doubt of the fact that isolated communities speaking another language than that of the majority of the nation to which they belong are at a disadvantage, and will deteriorate, until they master the prevailing language and get into easy communication with the thought of the country.

During the period in question Germany was experiencing the greatest intellectual quickening; but all that was of no account to the Germans in this country. They must be quickened if at

all by something nearer. The sooner they and the other inhabitants to whom the English language was not an inheritance, should forget the language of their fathers and adopt that of their neighbors, and of the laws and government under which they must live, the better it would be for them.

The presence of New England people in overwhelming numbers effected a speedy and perfect assimilation of the elements of population throughout the State. To-day the distinction between Yankee and Knickerbocker and Palatine and Huguenot is not noticed except by the members of your society and other students of ethnology. I have seen a list of names of those who fought at Oriskany. Compare the names in that list with the names of the members of the same families as they appear today, and you get some idea of the change which has been effected. In the late war I served with a regiment part of which was recruited in the Mohawk towns of Herkimer County, and the names of many men indicated that they were descended from the original German settlers, but they had no peculiarity of speech, or manners or character to attract notice.

Immediately after the war I spent several years in a community, near the Scoharie border, where the New England element and the old New York element were nearly equal. Only those curious in such matters would take notice of the fact. It would have been idle for either element to claim superiority.

How different in this respect has been the history of Pennsylvania. I quote from the New York Independent of October 3, 1895, on the subject of German newspapers in that state: "The oldest, the Reading Eagle, will next year celebrate its centennial; and the next in age, the York Gazette, has been issued since 1799, while four more have been published since early in the present century—one in Easton, another in Lancaster and two in Allentown."

In 1863 our brigade included the 167th Pa., made up of native Pennsylvanians from the neighborhood of Reading. The officers spoke English with difficulty.

I have entered upon no discussion of the character of the people of New England, it was not necessary, if we know ourselves, but there is one feature of the history of New England in New York, that wants a word. While the men from New England formed a decisive majority in the state, they did not attempt to form a New England party, but gave their support to the Clintons and Jay and Hamilton and Van Buren as cordially as they would to men who traced descent from the Mayflower.

While New England has contributed so much to the greatness of New York, the descendants of the New England settlers in New York have contributed something to the glory of New England.

Asa Gray, born in Paris, in 1810, James D. Dana, born at Utica, in 1813, and James Hadley, born at Fairfield in 1821, all children of New England colonists, did the work of their lives in New England, and their fame is a part of the fame of the schools of New England.

Three-fourths of a century has elapsed since New York reached the rank which she has since held. Within that time multitudes from many lands have landed on her shores and have become a part of her people. They came to a state which had been made great, by the great migration of the people of New England, which followed close upon the successful termination of the War of the Revolution.

At the close of Judge Holden's address, General Charles W. Darling arose and said: "Mr. President—Judge Holden has told us that the New Englanders were among our earliest settlers in New York, but this is not a matter of surprise, for their motto was 'semper paratus,' when sturdy pioneers with brains were wanted. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, those members of the Church of England who had formed their opinions of church government from Calvin were severely persecuted, and it was then, in 1564, that they received the name of Puritans. They were so called because they gave an aspect of precision in their manners, by the stern severity of their lives, but it made them

strong in their integrity and persistent in the struggle for liberty and right.

By reason of persecution they left England, their native land, and sought new homes in the wilderness; came to America to seek liberty and peace on the shores of the new world. Before a single Dutchman had even visited the coast of America, people from England discovered, named, patented and colonized territory in this country which embraced not only New York, but extended from the boundary line of North Carolina to the notherly part of Maine—all under the name of Viriginia. Rev. Dr. Leonard Bacon of New Haven has said:

Laws, freedom, truth, and faith in God
Came with those exiles o'er the waves,
And where their pilgrim feet have trod,
The God they trusted guards their graves.

* * * * * * * * *

This country owes much to the New Englanders for the best features of her free constitution, and Judge Holden has given us most interesting facts regarding those hardy pioneers. I move, Mr. President, that a vote of thanks be tendered by the Oneida Historical Society to him for his admirable paper, and that he be requested to favor us with the same, to place among our archives."

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE IN WASHINGTON DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT MONROE.

By Robert J. Hubbard.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The paper which I have the privilege of presenting to you this evening is composed largely of extracts from private letters written by the late Thomas H. Hubbard. In the years 1817 to 1824 he was a Representative at Washington from the Congressional district embracing Madison and Herkimer Counties of this State, during the administration of President Monroe.

If we could place ourselves back two generations, to the time of which I write, and eliminate from our lives the railroads, ocean palaces, telegraphs, electric lights and other wonders and conveniences of electricity; sewing machines, photographs, bicycles and machinery in all its varied subtle uses; we should prepare ourselves to appreciate the difficulties encountered by those who had to travel a thousand miles to attend the assembling of Representatives at the Capitol of our young nation.

The population of this country in 1820 was nine and a half millions. In the seventy-five years intervening, it has grown to seventy millions. The centre of population from being about Washington at that period, to near St. Louis in our own time.

JOURNEYING TO WASHINGTON.

We commence with Mr. Hubbard's meeting some of his colleagues at Gibson's, or the City Hotel, in Broadway, near Wall St., New York, on the 17th of November, 1817. He had journeyed by stage from his home in Hamilton to Albany, 107 miles, and thence by steam boat to New York.

In company with Genl. Talmadge, Mr. Cushman, Mr. Palmer and Col. Hasbrook of this State, and Mr. Holmes of Connecticut, he went on board a steam-boat at the Battery at 8 o'clock A. M. on the 23rd of November. Passing along the Jersey shore, Newark, Elizabeth and Perth Amboy, they entered the Raritan river and arrived at New Brunswick, 45 miles from New York, shortly after noon. Here they took a stage, passing through Kingston and Princeton, reaching Trenton, 26 miles, at six o'clock in the evening, where they slept. At eight the next morning they left by steam-boat on the Delaware for Philadelphia, and arrived there at one o'clock P. M. The narrow streets and unattractive buildings of that city, were contrasted unfavorably with those of New York. Resting here for a day they proceeded at one o'clock on the 25th by steam-boat to New Castle, 36 miles. Early the next morning they took stage 16 miles to Frenchtown, and steam-boat from there on the Elk and Patapsco rivers to Baltimore, 70 miles from Frenchtown. They lodged at Gadsley's Hotel, "probably the largest public house in the Union." It was lighted with gas, which was then sufficient of a novelty to merit a long description. On the 27th, at five in the morning, they left by stage, 36 miles, for Washington, where they arrived at two o'clock, four days from New York.

On the occasion of another journey to Washington, in company with General Joseph Kirkland, they stopped at Baltimore, which they pronounced the most splendid city in America.

Hotels and boarding houses in Washington, were as much of a perplexity in those days as they have ever since been. He writes, "Genl. Talmadge of Poughkeepsie, a gentleman of distinguished merit and great moral worth, has agreed to act in concert with me, and we have established ourselves among a great number of New England members at Queen's Hotel on Capitol hill near the Hall of Legislation."

"We were comfortably seated in our rooms," he writes, when a messenger from the door-keeper entered and laid on our table, six quires of letter paper, six of common writing pa-

per, a bottle of ink with ink-stand, sand box, six pens (quills) ready made, a lead pencil, piece of tape, two sticks of sealing-wax, a box of wafers, and another of sand. Also the journals of the 14th Congress and Senate.

"My room is neatly furnished, and on the second floor opening to the East, so that the morning sun looks directly in at my window. The Capitol is in front, and the city spread below upon the hill side and south-west. I pay fourteen dollars per week."

On his third winter, Mr. Kirkland was one of his mess-mates, and he considered himself fortunate in being with one for whom he had ever entertained a sincere esteem, and whose domestic feelings coincided so entirely with his own. Of his other associates, he says: "They are all gentlemen of the best habits and are extremely well-bred. There are no wine-drinkers among them. Instead of wine they drink cider, which is purchased by the barrel.

APPEARANCE OF WASHINGTON.

Washington is laid out on a grand scale and more compact and in general better built, than he expected to find it. The Capitol, at the time the city was taken by the British in 1814, consisted of two wings only. These were burned, and re-construction commenced the year following. The central part was begun in 1818. The re-built wings were first occupied by the respective Houses of Congress, December 6th, 1819. The White House, which was also burned by the British, was restored and re-occupied in 1817.

The government had removed from Philadelphia to Washington in 1800, when the place was almost a wilderness. The approach to Washington, Mr. Hubbard describes as dreary in the extreme. Capitol hill resembled pictures of the ruins of Palmyra, more than the heart of a great town. There was evidently much uncertainty as to the direction of growth of the city. In walking one day down one of the avenues leading to the river, he observed twenty brick houses in a row, in a most

beautiful situation, completely in ruins. They were erected under the impression that the Capitol would have been located there. As it was not, they were never finished, and had fallen into decay.

The city is laid out on so grand a plan, that there are more ruins in it, notwithstanding its infant state, than almost any place on the continent. It has no commerce. Everybody lives on the Treasury. It has already cost the nation many million dollars, and so long as the government continues in Washington there will be no end of the expense. The location was considered unfortunate, the weakest thing Washington ever did. The Portuguese resident minister (an old monk) says, "Every man is born with a bag of folly which attends him through life. Washington was born with a small bag, which he kept to himself, and never imparted any of it to the world, until the metropolis of the nation was founded, when he emptied the whole of it into this city." "Should the seat of government ever be removed from Washington, as it evidently must be at some future period, it will become a deserted village."

A year later, on Mr. Hubbard's second winter, he noticed the erection of some three hundred new dwelling houses; the streets were gravelled and otherwise improved, and notwithstanding former predictions, he did not know but this immense plan would yet be completed, and Washington become a great city.

The Capitol was now being re-built after its destruction during "the last war." The exterior of the west wing was finished, but all was chaos within. It seemed doubtful whether the Representatives' chamber would be fit for the reception of members in two years. This was in 1818. In the temporary building occupied by the Houses of Congress, the Senate chamber was on the first floor, and the House of Representatives on the second. This building was a capacious one, adjacent to the eastern ground of the Capitol, where the sessions of Congress were held until 1819. It was called "the old Capitol," and during the Civil War was known as "the old Capitol Prison," being used as a place of confinement for Confederate

soldiers. It is still standing, having been altered, and is now used for residences.

In 1821 the re-built Capitol was occupied. The Hall of Representatives was said to be one of the most splendid rooms in the world. It is indeed a magnificent apartment, but so constructed that it seems to sport with the human voice in a most singular manner. One day, while speaking was going on, Mr. Hubbard took different positions to observe the effect of sound from different angles of the Hall. The experiment was equally surprising and amusing. At a little distance a member was addressing the chair. His lips were seen to move, but not a sound reached the ear. The voice of another not far away would split and multiply into a thousand harsh and discordant sounds, resembling the croakings of a crow, whose tongue had been divided. Another awakened a loud unpleasant echo, as though the orator had stationed some one near to enforce his argument by incessant and distinct repetitions. There was one person in the House who had such a remarkable voice, that he was easily heard in every part of it—Mr. Randolph—whose tones of voice much resembled those of a boy of fifteen, but remarkably sweet and melodious.

This Hall is in the form of a half circle, and in our day is used for a collection of statues of our eminent men.

In speaking of the business of the House, his associates, etc., Mr. Hubbard says: On organizing December 1st, 1817, Mr. Henry Clay was chosen Speaker. Of the members whose acquaintance he made, he speaks of Gov. Tickenor of Vermont, Gov. Bloomfield, Gov. Harrison, Gov. Middleton, Colonel Johnson, (who is said to have shot Tecumtha) and Mr. John Holmes of Massachusetts. Mr. Clay mixed freely with the members, and was very affable and engaging in his manners. The members sit with their hats on or off as they prefer. When any one rises to address the Speaker, he must respectfully take off his hat. Referring to the members of the House, he says Connecticut has beyond question the most respectable representation, being

composed of men of sound practical sense. As a statesman Mr. Timothy Pitkin* had not a superior in the House.

The Southern members made a poor impression upon him, and he speaks of them generally, as subtle and cunning.

The committee of which was Mr. Hubbard was chairman, met so frequently as to give little leisure time. It embraced pensions to widows and children of deceased soldiers, post office complaints, etc.

An interesting discussion took place in the Senate on the subject of allowing half pay to the indigent revolutionary officers and soldiers. Mr. King was speaking, and made a motion to confine the bounty of Government to the officers alone, of the army, without reference to their special needs. Mr. King's manner was remarkably dignified and impressive, and his argument sound and interesting. His figure was noble, and commanding, and he had a fine head, reminding one of a Roman Senator. He was answered in a very forcible and eloquent manner by Mr. Barbour, formerly Governor of Virginia. While the Senate were debating, the venerable patriot and soldier, General St. Clair came in. He appeared to be upwards of eighty years old, very infirm, and one of the oldest veterans living, of those who achieved the independence of our happy country. The old gentleman was in Washington to present a claim of eighteen hundred dollars due him from the United States.

General Jackson's campaign in Florida passed in review before the House. Mr. Clay took the floor, and was very severe upon the General. Mr. Adams, whom Clay hates, came in for a share of his invectives. It was an exciting and profitless debate. The ladies were universally in favor of the General, and paid him marked attention.

At the meeting of Congress in December, 1821, there was much canvassing for Speaker, between Mr. Taylor of New York, and Mr. Barbour of Virginia; the latter being elected Speaker of the Seventeenth Congress.

* Hon. Timothy Pitkin was the father of the late Mrs. Hiram Denio of Utica, and Rev. Thomas C. Pitkin of Detroit, Mich.

Commenting upon the waste of time, Mr. Hubbard says, he always goes to the House with satisfaction, but he does not approve of the manner in which business in conducted, and thinks the nation has reason to be dissatisfied with its representatives for not economising their time as they ought. Days are wasted in useless debate and talk, when action should be taken. Truly seventy-five years has brought no improvement!

In April, 1818, the Navigation Act was passed, by a great majority. "This Act excludes from our ports British vessels coming from a port with a cargo or without, from which our ships are prevented from coming with cargos. According to the present (then) regulation, Great Britain has all the carrying trade to and from the West Indies. No provisions, lumber or anything carried in American bottoms, being permitted to enter these West Indies ports. It is said the freight on horses amounts to half their value. This is enjoyed entirely by the British merchant."

PRESIDENT MONROE.

But it is time I should refer to the head of the nation, President James Monroe, who occupied the "Palace." The President's house being then known by no other name.

Mr. Hubbard had been presented to the President in 1817 upon his first arrival in Washington, and spoke of him as a plain unassuming man, who conducted him through the "Palace," and behaved in every respect as any other well bred man would do.

The President received callers on the first of January, 1818. At two o'clock the doors were opened and the crowd poured in. A corps of marines was drawn up in front of the House, bright in all the trappings of military dress. The President received with Mrs. Monroe. One followed in the current which bore them to their distinguished hosts, who bowed graciously to each guest.* Simple refreshments were passed by the serv-

*Much more dignified certainly than the more democratic custom of hand shaking which prevails in our own time.

ants consisting of sweet-meats, ice cream, hot punch and lemonade. "The President is a man of sixty years of age. His countenance is rather sallow and of a sickly hue, also a good deal wrinkled. He wears his hair turned up on the forehead, short behind, and powdered. His health appears to have been injured by study and intense application. He was dressed on this occasion in a blue coat and buff waist-coat and small clothes and white silk stockings. Mrs. Monroe had on a silk or satin gown, of light color, almost white, close around the neck and a large bunch of artificial flowers at the bosom. Her hat or bonnet was of the same material, surmounted with three nodding plumes. She is about fifty years of age, rather handsome, and very gracious and polite in her manners. This good couple stood on their feet, nodding, bowing, smiling and talking with about one thousand persons. The fatigue must have been very great."

February 21st, 1818, Mr. Hubbard dined with the President, in company with Messrs. Cushman, Palmer and Drake. They went at half past five. The President's brother and private secretary received them in a most awkward manner, and ushered them in Indian file into the drawing room, where were some twenty gentlemen sitting in a row in solemn state, mute as fishes, they having undergone the grand state ceremony. "Mrs. Monroe," he writes, "was seated at the further end of the room with other ladies. On our approach she rose and received us handsomely. After being myself presented, I introduced the other gentlemen. I now expected to be led to the President, but my pilot, the private secretary, had vanished. We beat a retreat each to his respective chair. Observing the President sitting very demurely by the chimney corner, I rose and advanced to him. He got up and shook me by the hand, as he did the other gentelmen. This second ceremony over, all again was silence, and each once more moved to his seat. It was a period of great solemnity: not a whisper broke upon the ear to interrupt the silence of the place, and every one looked as if the next moment would be his last.

After a while the President in a grave manner began conver-

sation with some one who sat near him, and directly the Secretary ushered in some more victims, who submitted to the same dread ordeal we had experienced. This continued for fully half an hour, when dinner was announced.

The dinner was good, and the table most richly furnished. There were about thirty guests in all. It became more lively as the dishes rattled. The plateau in the centre of the table was very elegant. It was fully twelve feet long, and two wide, oval at the ends, and composed of a mirror, surrounded by gold female figures, eight inches high, with extended arms holding candlesticks.* The table was garnished with artificial flowers. The plate was very handsome, china highly gilt and the desert knives, forks and spoons were of beaten gold. The dinner was ended at about half past eight o'clock.

Mr. Hubbard attended another dinner at the "Palace," and speaks of it as a grave and serious affair.

On the occasion of a call upon the President with Mr. Morton in November, 1818, Mr. Monroe gave them a laughable description of an insurrection among the workmen, which delayed work on the new Capitol about a month. "The workmen employed by the Government upon the public works, amount in all to about eight thousand men. Those stationed at the Capitol conspired to demand higher wages. By signal agreed upon among them they laid down their tools and presented their petition. Government complied, and advanced their wages. But not content, they met again and demanded still more. This was refused, and they left work. Not satisfied with this, they formed an association, raised a fund and as fast as Government employed new hands, the conspirators bought them off by offer-

*When Mrs. Cleveland was the gracious mistress of the White House she interested herself in tracing the origin of sundry articles still in use, of which no record has been made. Among them is the beautiful ornament for the table, which has always been used on state occasions. When Mr. Monroe was Minister to France he leased a large house and furnished it elaborately. Soon afterwards he was recalled and an Act was passed by Congress, purchasing from him the furniture, which was sent to Washington for the White House, then being refitted. All the dining room furniture came in this way, and up to the time of the administration of Lincoln the silver bore the initial "M." The center ornament for the table was doubtless received at that time.

ing higher wages. This was deemed an unlawful combination, and Monroe issued his warrant, and about twenty of the ring leaders were conveyed to goal. The rest of the workmen meditating a rescue, the marines were ordered out from the barracks. Mr. Monroe says, merely with a view to guard the gaol, but the conspirators, supposing the soldiers would be ordered to shoot them down, and seeing the soldiers advance with a quick step and to martial music, broke and dispersed. They then appointed a committee, offering to retrace their steps, and were again received, and went quietly to their work."

Mr. Monroe's administration was an eventful period in the formative history of our country. For half a century he served as Representative in Congress or the Senate; minister to the courts of England or France; in the cabinet of Mr. Madison, and for two terms chief of the nation as its President. He, more than anyone else, had been the instrument in giving shape to events, and the enforcement of a political principle, which has ever since been the settled policy of our Government, known as "the Monroe Doctrine."

It warns the powers of Europe that "we owe it to candor and to the amiable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."*

SOCIAL LIFE.

The French minister, M. de Neuville, gave elegant entertainments. Mr. Hubbard describes several. In December, 1817, he attended one given in honor of the birth-night of the Duchess d' Angeleme.

At eight o'clock they were ushered into the presence of the hospitable host, with a very profound bow from the minister, and three low courtesies from Madame de Neuville. They were shaken by the hand and bid a cordial welcome. The ladies

*While envoy to France in 1803, Mr. Monroe negotiated with Napoleon Bonaparte the purchase of Louisana and all the French territory to the north-west, embracing some nine hundred thousand square miles, for the sum of $15,000,000.

were many of them richly dressed, if such decollete exposure can be so called. Madame de Neuville was dressed not only with great propriety, but in the plainest manner, and altogether without ornament. The lady of the British Minister, Mrs. Bagot, was most superbly attired, and decorum was an ornament not forgotten. She is a beautiful and elegant woman, and attracted great attention. The foreign ministers, with the exception of M. de Neuville, wore the court costumes of their countries. That of the Spanish minister exceeded all others in richness. Decatur graced the fete with his attendance in full uniform. He is a fine looking officer, and of the most modest deportment. Among other distinguished guests was Lord Selkirk, famous for his commercial enterprise. Neither the President nor his lady were present.

Soon after their arrival, dancing commenced. Two rooms were fitted for this purpose, and there were many eager participants. The whole house was thrown open, and the guests wandered at will. It was a fashionable squeeze.

Coffee, jellies and ice cream were sent around early in the evening, and after ten all moved upstairs to the supper table, which occupied three rooms. They were decorated with great taste and elegance, and the supper was bountiful. At eleven the company broke up.

The next winter Mr. Hubbard attended parties and dinners at the French Minister's. Again in December, 1821, he describes another at the same hospitable house, on which occasion he escorted Mrs. (Colonel) John E. Wool. The ladies generally were richly dressed, the prevailing fashion seemed to be long waists, distorting otherwise pretty figures.

In January, 1818, he dined with "His Excellency Mr. Dickenville," in a company of twenty. There were Senators Smith of S. C., Geo. W. Campbell, Messrs. Forney, Dagget, Pitkin, Holmes, Talmadge, Anderson, Webster, Palmer, Forest, Torry, etc. The first course consisted of meats cooked in different ways; each on a solid silver dish. Next came a variety of confectionery, sweet meats, etc. The third course was composed

of fruit and a small baked pig—a week or ten days old. It may have been brought on by mistake: no one ate of it. The china was elegant, the knives, forks and spoons were of gold. In the centre of the table stood a long oval silver tray, beautifully polished, and elevated about two inches, upon which was a porcelain vase tastefully adorned with artificial flowers in great profusion and beauty. The company separated at ten.

The same winter he attended a tea party given by Mrs. John Q. Adams. There was a great crowd. The music was fine, and the ladies elegantly dressed. Mrs. Adams received her company very well, and her table was tastefully spread. Mr. Adams is awkward in his address, and very much reserved in company. Mr. and Mrs. Bagot were present in deep mourning for the death of the Princess Charlotte. Mrs. Bagot is a niece of Lord Wellington. Don Ories, the Spanish Minister, graced the company.

Governor Middleton of South Carolina entertained at his house in Georgetown in February, 1818. The hill in that town is studded with a great many elegant mansions, and here resides Commodores Porter, Hall and Rodgers. These gentlemen were at the entertainment, together with Comdr. Woolsey, Gen. Brown, Cols. Wool and Jessup, and a son of Marshall Gouchy of France.

About the same time he dined with the British Minister, Mr. Bagot; also with Mr. (Speaker) Clay. The latter gave a profusion of India sweetmeats and excellent wines, and they were handsomely and hospitably entertained. Mr. Clay gives dinners two or three times a week. Again at dinner at Gov. Middleton's he met Mr. and Mrs. Storres, Mr. and Mrs. Talmadge, Mr. and Mrs. Orr, Mr. and Mrs. Paulding (the author), and others. The ladies were dressed in white with deep flounces of some bright color. They wore their bonnets at dinner, and during the evening.

In January, 1819, Mr. Hubbard attended a party at the Spanish Minister's with the Vice President; Daniel D. Tompkins; Smith Thompson, Secretary of the Navy; Comdr. Chaun-

cey; all the foreign ministers, and the beauty and fashion of the city. Mrs. Monroe gave frequent drawing-rooms this winter, some of which he attended. Gen. Van Ness gave a dinner, which Mr. Hubbard pronounced the finest he had seen in Washington, except the President's. He enjoyed a family dinner with Mr. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury; also one with Mr. John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War. No one, he says, can make his parties more agreeable. Calhoun has great conversational powers, and a most cordial manner. At a party at John Q. Adams', Mr. Hubbard met General Lewis Cass, who told him that he rode from Detroit to Washington on horse-back. The distance may be roughly estimated at one thousand miles: travelling say thirty miles a day, it would occupy something over a month to reach his destination.

On one occasion while riding with Mr. Daniel Webster in a carriage, it turned to the left in passing other vehicles, in the English style. Mr. Webster remarked to him,

"This rule 'from the right,' is a paradox quite,
As we roll in our carriage along,
If you turn to the left, you are sure to go right,
If you turn to the right, you go wrong."

VISIT TO MAJOR LAWRENCE LEWIS.

Mr. Pitkin, Mr. Dana, Mr. Dagget and Mr. Hubbard received an invitation from Mr. and Mrs. Lewis, to pass the holidays at Woodlawn, their seat on the Potomac, in Fairfax County, fifteen miles from Washington. They set out at four o'clock, December 24th, 1817, for a fine moonlight drive. The weather was mild. They passed through the pretty compactly built city of Alexandria, called by travellers, "Philadelphia in miniature," and arrived at Mr. Lewis' at eight o'clock. Their reception was most cordial, and they were introduced without parade or ceremony to one of the most ancient and elegant families of Virginia. Major Lawrence Lewis is a nephew of General Washington; of plain appearance, but polished and dignified manners. His wife is a grand-daughter of Mrs. Washington (who was the

widow Custis, when married to the General) is a most elegant and interesting woman. Their family consists of a daughter about eighteen, named Francese Parke Custis Washington Lewis, a lovely and amiable girl, two younger daughters, and a son.

The evening was spent in friendly chit-chat until half past eleven, when the ladies left, and then they were conducted to their respective rooms for the night.

"When unpacking my bundle to get clean linen for the morning," he says, "I discovered to my surprise and confusion that the stupid servant boy had put into the carriage a bundle of clothes belonging to Mr. Cushman of Troy, which the laundress had just sent in to his lodgings, instead of my own clothes. Now Mr. Cushman and myself are not exactly of a size; one being short, and the other above six feet tall. In the first paroxism of distress, I ran into Mr. Pitkin's and Mr. Dagget's rooms, and told my lamentable case. All joined in a laugh at my expense, but I returned to the sweet clean linen of my bed, and soon all recollection of my trouble was lost in refreshing sleep, from which I did not waken until eight in the morning. I arose and examined Mr. Cushman's shirt with a sad visage, but what was my surprise to find that this fancied colossus wore a garment but little larger than my own, and it suited my back as well as his. I dressed myself therefore in this borrowed or stolen shirt with much good humor and satisfaction, and joined the party below. Mr. Dagget eyed me with a good deal of significance, but contented himself with asking in a whisper, 'How many reefs I had taken in my ——?' He was answered by my assuring him that I was a much greater man than he took me for."

From Mr. Lewis' house there is a fine view. The Potomac is here about a mile and a half wide. The shores are generally low and devoid of interest. Nowhere are to be seen such pretty villages and magnificent villas as constantly meet the eye in gliding up the Hudson River. Indeed as far as can be judged the

whole State of Virginia is a mere wilderness, and must remain so, while it contains so large a population of blacks.

The planters are rich in lands, and having so many negroes to labor for them, live in all the luxury of ease and affluence, but are not to be envied their elevation or honors. Judge Washington, who now occupies the Mansion House at Mount Vernon, has about four thousand acres of land, principally under improvement, and it is said, did not last year raise more grain than was consumed by his blacks and laborers. Had it not been for his salary, he would have been pressed with want. Eight hundred acres is not a small farm, but when it is considered that it does not generally yield more than ten or twelve bushels of corn in the ear per acre, it is not surprising that a planter cannot live upon less.

There are no churches or schools in the interior of the State, and it is the policy of the whites to keep the blacks in a state of absolute ignorance, and perhaps it is better that it is so. If they are taught to read, and their minds are enlightened they would soon learn to know their strength, and the consequences might be disastrous to the whites. Now the blacks are mere children, looking up to their masters for food and raiment, for all their comforts as well as pleasures, and appear to feel grateful for every indulgence. They are treated with kindness, and appear generally happy. At this season of the year they have twelve days vacation and rest from work, and they are everywhere to be seen scattered over the country with packs on their backs, going to visit friends and relations.

From Mr. Lewis' seat, Mount Vernon is in full view. A visit to it was intended at this time, but was deferred.

Everything is on a great and liberal scale at Mr. Lewis' house. It is a large and magnificent one, and the grounds about it are most tastefully laid out. In the room in which Mr. Hubbard slept was a full length portrait of the Marquese de la Fayette,

taken when he was in this country. The whole house is well furnished, and the entertainments given most sumptuous.

The dinner was at four o'clock—the table spread with double table cloths. The first course consisted of soup, oysters, beef, mutton, etc. With this course the first table cloth was removed, and on the clean one below were placed pies, puddings, tarts, jellies, whips, sweet-meats, etc. After these came the plain black mahogany table. Clean glasses were brought and a lighter kind of wine, with fruit, raisins and almonds. Coffee and tea were sent around at eight o'clock. The service of plate was very rich, probably the same once used by "the Father of his country."

The evening entertainment consisted of music on the harpsichord* and guitar, by Mrs. and Miss Lewis, with songs by Miss Stuart.

Mr. Lewis is a gentleman of grave but interesting manners. His gravity appears to spring from a well regulated mind, and from habits of kindness and great attention to the proprieties of life. He is a practical farmer, sensible in conversation, and perfectly amiable in his demeanor. Mrs. Lewis is very handsome, and has had the advantage of a finished education. She is a great favorite with Mr. Pitkin, who says, in addition to her more brilliant acquirements, that she is a pattern of every domestic virtue, and an excellent housekeeper. This is a characteristic of the Virginia ladies generally.**

The eldest daughter who has just finished her education, is now teaching her younger sister, aged fourteen. She devotes six hours a day to the charge. This speaks sufficiently in her praise.

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*This harpsichord, ordered from London at a cost of $1,000, was given by General Washington to Nellie Curtis in 1799, as a wedding present, and is now to be seen at Mount Vernon.

**Mrs. Lewis presented to Mr Pitkin a cup and saucer which belonged to General Washington, and which is now owned by Mrs. Tourtellot of this city

At the close of this address Gen. Charles W. Darling moved a vote of thanks, with the following remarks:

Mr. President, A simple slab of marble, about two feet square, lying flat upon the earth, in a cemetery on Second Street, near First Avenue, New York, has inscribed upon it the name of James Monroe. That simple slab of stone covers the vault where the remains of the fifth President of the United States were buried on the 4th of July, 1831.

This man filled more important offices, under our government, during his life, than any other man has filled in these United States.

There is nothing on that stone to indicate that James Monroe was born in 1758, entered the Revolutionary Army in 1776, was in the battle of White Plains, was wounded at the attack on Trenton, and fought by the side of Gen. Lafayette at Brandywine. Nothing upon that stone shows that James Monroe was delegate to Congress, United States Senator, Minister to France, Minister to England, Governor of Virginia, Secretary of State, Secretary of War, and for two full terms President of the United States. No record is made on the stone of the fact that James Monroe was the husband of a woman whose life was beautiful in its simplicity, and rich in its varied experience.

She was a noble woman, as proved in many ways, and particularly in the case of the imprisoned wife of Lafayette.

After the return of Gen. Lafayette to France, he was appointed, in the winter of 1792, to the command of a French army corps, to repel an invasion of the Austrians. The enemy succeeded in making an attack upon the Tuileries, after which Lafayette was deprived of his command. He then fell into the hands of the Austrians, who incarcerated him for five years in a Prussian dungeon, from which he was finally released by Napoleon. The wife of Lafayette was also thrust into prison, which fact came to the knowledge of Mrs. Monroe, and it aroused her indignation. Mr. Monroe was at that time United States Minister to France, and, as the wife of the Minister, she was permitted to visit the prison at La Force, where

Madame Lafayette was confined. That visit altered the plans of Madame Lafayette's captors, who had doomed her to execution, and the next morning, after the visit of Mrs. Monroe, the prisoner was liberated.

The prestige of our Republic, which was then very young, was great, and fully appreciated as well as feared by the French.

And now, Mr. President, without further remarks, I move that the thanks of this Society be tendered to Mr. Robert J. Hubbard for his admirable address, and request that a copy of the same be left with the Oneida Historical Society to place among its archives.

THE PHILIPPINE PROBLEM IN THE LIGHT OF AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL POLICY.

By Professor E. W. Huffcut, of Cornell University.

The discussion of the Philippine problem has taken a wide range. The history of American expansion has been told and retold. The constitutional questions involved have been repeatedly expounded. The geographical, climatic, ethnological and commercial conditions of the islands have been often portrayed. Political philosophy and political prophesy have been freely expended. It would seem that little remains to be said that has not already been sufficiently emphasized.

There is, however, one phase of the question that I do not recollect to have seen independently treated. Most of the arguments thus far have been directed toward the internal effect upon the United States, or the internal effect upon the Philippines, of a permanent control and government of the archipelago by the American Republic. We have scarcely paused to consider the effect upon our external policy of the possession of a great Asiatic dependency. We have not yet had occasion to inquire whether a movement so sudden and so radical may have disturbed the relations of the United States to the other powers of the world so as to require us to re-examine and perhaps readjust our whole international policy. Yet such an inquiry will surely have to be made if we decide to enter upon the path of colonial empire outside the American continent. Heretofore our activities, our aspirations, and consequently our policies, have been distinctively, even exclusively, American. We have therefore been able to give to them a character wholly unique. Undisturbed by the rivalries and ambitions of the old world we have

framed our international policies on lines so simple and so well defined that they have never shifted with the changes of domestic politics or with the conclusions of European wars or diplomacy. Every party and every administration at home has accepted them and acted upon them as a fundamental and unquestioned part of our scheme of government. Every state abroad has respected them as the permanent expression of our unchangeable purpose. Never, I venture to think, has a great state, in the presence of states of equal power, been able to define and to maintain an international policy so simple, so exact, and withal so effective.

I may be permitted, at the risk of being elementary, to recall in set terms the formularies of American diplomacy.

The United States has had for its guide in international affairs two main maxims. The first was formulated by Washington in his farewell address, in these words:

"The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. * * * Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none, or a very remote, relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities. Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel. Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our

own, to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, interest, humor, or caprice? It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

The second was formulated by President Monroe, in his message of December, 1823, in these words:

"We owe it to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those (Europan) powers, to declare, that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling, in any other manner, their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

The policy enunciated by Washington is non-interference in, and non-entanglement with, the political concerns of Europe. The policy enunciated by Monroe, known as the Monroe Doctrine, is the non-interference by European powers in the political concerns of America. To the first we adhere by our own inaction. To the second we adhere by resisting the dangerous activity of European powers, as when we compelled the French to quit Mexico or when we persuaded Great Britain to arbitrate her title to territory claimed by Venezuela.

Guided by these two maxims our statesmen have steadily refused to unite with European powers in any political concert of action and have steadily refused to permit European powers to interfere with political affairs on this continent or its appurtenant islands. Like the Pope who divided the non-European world between Spain and Portugal, we have divided the whole

world politically between the United States and the European Powers, and have said, "we shall keep within our sphere of influence, do you keep likewise within yours." But unlike the Pope's mandate ours has been recognized and practically acquiesced in by the whole world. Our fidelity to our maxim of self-restraint has inspired a dread belief that we should be equally faithful to our maxim of resistance to European encroachment. Thus free from entangling international problems and free from foreign designs upon our own continent, we have been politically an American power, have seen one by one the European dependencies here become in their turn American states, until our only European neighbor of any consequence is our own mother country.

The primary maxim, enunciated by Washington, is not merely a warning against "entanglements" with foreign nations or a prohibition against alliances; it is a restraint upon even that concert of action which is, or has been, so common a phenomenon in European international affairs. The reason for such restraint lies in the happy geographical situation of the United States. In Europe, or Asia, or Africa, no one nation is dominant. In Europe the 'six great powers' has come to be a familiar phrase signifying that Great Britain, Germany, Russia, France, Austria and Italy must each be reckoned with in any question affecting the international politics of the old world. The other European states do not count. Their destiny is in the hands of the six great powers. All that saves some of them from extinction is the impossibility of a concert of action by the six. No one is allowed to disturb the balance of power by aggressions or annexations. The Turkish Empire exists because no concert of the six powers can be had looking to its dissolution. New states, like Roumania or Montenegro may be carved out and neutralized but no additions can be made to the existing territory of any of the six at the expense of the smaller states. In Africa each of the powers is allowed to work its will, and that great continent has practically been divided almost within our own day. In Asia the same system that has subdivided Africa is at work, and is eating up the Chinese Empire. Eventually we

may expect to see the colonizing powers—Great Britain, Russia, Germany and France—come to some understanding for the government of inter-colonial problems in Asia in much the same way as they have clumsily managed to treat international problems in Europe. In Africa, Great Britain and Germany and France must in the same way act in concert in order to keep the peace.

The striking phenomenon in all this is the fact that no one power is dominant, that in its every movement each power is closely watched by jealous neighbors and often checked in its plans or thwarted of its prize.

On the American continent, however, the situation is strikingly different. Here no concert of action is necessary or permissible. The United States is the paramount power and by its sole will decides in the last resort all strictly American questions to the exclusion of all European interference or influence. The United States is the great neutral nation of the world, and it is so because it is remote in space from the other great powers, remote in interests from the other great powers, and dominant in its own hemisphere. In order to remain thus free to act as its own interests may at any particular time dictate, it keeps clear of all entangling alliances and has until very recently kept clear of all extra-American contact with European, or old world, questions or interests.

We have even refrained from acting in cases where our sympathies were enlisted in behalf of oppressed peoples or of progressive movements. Thus the heroic struggle of the Greeks for independence from Turkish rule enlisted the liveliest sympathies of our people. Resolutions in favor of extending official sympathy or encouragement to them were, however, defeated in Congress, and our government declined to join Great Britain, France and Russia in the intervention in their behalf. The struggle of Hungary for independence in like manner aroused our sympathies, and even led us finally to offer free transportation to the United States to Kossuth and his compatriots who had escaped into Turkey. But there was no intervention, and the address of President Fillmore to the illustrious exile upon

his presentation to the President was so explicit upon this point as to give great offence to that unhappy but most erratic visitor. So staunch, indeed, has been our adherence to the traditional policy that we even declined to become a party to the international agreement for the establishment and government of the Free Congo State. And yet so ancient does all this sound in some ears, that there are not now wanting American citizens who deplore that we did not enter the scramble for the possession of African Empire!

Of actual "entangling alliances" there have been, aside from the one with France when she came to our aid in the struggle for independence, but two. The first is the Clayton-Bulwer treaty by which we agreed upon a concert of action with Great Britain in connection with an inter-oceanic canal. That we have repented this no one can deny. There is now pending a treaty intended to remedy the worst features of that diplomatic blunder, but it is in danger of failing because it does not go far enough toward extricating us from an embarrassing partnership. It would seem that the vexations and dangers we have suffered in consequence of this departure from our cardinal policy ought to be warning enough against any further deviations from the teachings of the fathers. The second alliance with European powers which was both a departure from our diplomatic maxim, and a vexatious blunder, was the tripartite arrangement for the government or control of Samoa. Here we were at once outside our proper sphere of influence—the American Continent—and outside our fixed international policy. Fortunately a recent treaty has dissolved the unhappy partnership, and has left us sole owner of a suitable naval station. Could we honorably denounce the Clayton-Bulwer treaty we should now be free from every alliance or partnership with European powers.*

Thus for a century the wisdom of Washington's diplomatic doctrine has been recognized and acted upon by every succeeding administration. We have twice departed from it, and twice

*Since the above was written the Hay-Pauncefote treaty has happily extricated us from this grave embarassment.

repented the departure. We are now face to face with the issue whether we shall not merely depart from it as a temporary expedient, but practically abandon it altogether in favor of a dazzling dream of world empire.

The second maxim, embodied in the Monroe Doctrine, has equally been a consistent guide in all international questions pertaining to the American continent. It originated in a well-grounded fear that the European powers, or some of them, would intervene to aid Spain in subjugating her American colonies which had in whole or in part achieved their independence. It was a firm, unequivocal announcement that the United States would view such an intervention as a menace to its own safety and welfare. It effected its purpose. All thought of sending European forces to America was abandoned and the Spanish colonies one by one became free American States.

The national policy thus begun has never since been seriously questioned. It has, indeed, been rather confirmed and strengthened. A few illustrations of its application must suffice. Cuba presents the most interesting example. It was in October, 1823, before President Monroe had sent in the now famous message, that Jefferson then in retirement at Monticello, wrote to Monroe (who had asked his advice upon the promulgation of the doctrine) as follows:

"The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of Independence. That made us a nation; this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us. And never could we embark upon it under circumstances more auspicious. Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe: our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cisatlantic affairs."

Having thus formulated with his usual felicity of expression the maxims of American diplomacy, Jefferson goes on to ask whether we wish to acquire for ourselves any one or more of the Spanish-American provinces. To this he answers:

"I candidly confess that I have ever looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition which could ever be made to our system of states. The control which, with Florida Point, this island would give us over the Gulf of Mexico and the countries and isthmus bordering on it, as well as all those whose waters flow into it, would fill up the measure of our political well-being."

John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, in instructions to the American Minister in April, 1823, (eight months before the message), had said that "looking forward to the probable course of events for the short period of half a century, it is scarcely possible to resist the conviction that the annexation of Cuba to our Federal Republic will be indispensable to the continuance and integrity of the Union itself," and that, "the question both of our right and of our power to prevent its transfer to another European power, if necessary by force, already obtrudes itself upon our councils."

In 1825, Mr. Clay, Secretary of State, instructed our Ministers in Europe to announce, "that the United States, for themselves, desired no change in the political conditions of Cuba; that they were satisfied that it should remain open as it now is to their commerce, but that they could not with indifference see it passing from Spain to any other European power." A little later he wrote: "You will now add that we could not consent to the occupation of those islands (Cuba and Porto Rico) by any other European power than Spain under any contingency whatever."

In 1840, Mr. Forsyth, Secretary of State, wrote to our Minister in Spain:

"The United States will resist at every hazard an attempt of any foreign power to wrest Cuba from Spain. You are authorized to assure the Spanish government that in case of any attempt, from whatever quarter, to wrest from her this portion of her territory, she may securely depend upon the military and naval resources of the United States to aid her in preserving or recovering it."

In 1852, Webster wrote to our Minister in Great Britain:

"The government of the United States could not be expected to acquiesce in the cession of Cuba to any European power."

In 1853, Marcy, Secretary of State, wrote to our Minister in Great Britain:

"The United States will never consent to its transfer to any other foreign power."

Succeeding Secretaries of State reiterated these sentiments whenever the occasion seemed opportune.

Thus from 1823 to the outbreak of the late war with Spain it had been our settled policy to prevent at all hazards the island of Cuba from falling into the possession of any other European power than Spain, and, except during the period of the slavery agitation, our statesmen were almost unanimously in favor of its ultimate annexation to the United States.

Other American territory has been regarded in like manner as not subject to European aggression. We drove the French out of Mexico where they had during our Civil War attempted to overthrow the Mexican Republic and to establish on its ruins a European monarchy. In like manner we resisted the aggression of Great Britain upon Venezuela and went almost to the verge of war in behalf of our cherished policy.

Whenever our interests warranted we have also sought by purchase to relieve American territory of European rule and control. It was this motive, far more than any supposed need to extend our own territory, that led to the purchase of Louisiana by Jefferson, of Florida by Monroe guided by John Quincy Adams, and of Alaska by Seward. It has been our uniform policy to get rid of European neighbors on this continent as fast as circumstances would warrant. Seward sought to purchase the Danish West Indies and failed only because President Johnson was in a constant quarrel with congress, and congress, in a spirit of retaliatory hostility, wished to thwart him.

Even the Hawaiian Islands, remote though they are from our continent, were declared to be within the purview of the Monroe

Doctrine and we announced as early as 1842 that we could not permit any European power to take possession of them.

Thus the whole American continent and the appurtenant islands have been in a sense forbidden ground to European powers. We have firmly and successfully maintained the integrity of our policy that European powers should neither colonize American territory nor interfere in any way with existing American governments.

We have gone farther and in the language of President Grant declared boldly that we look forward to the time when all American dependencies of European powers shall become independent states and that in the meantime, "these dependencies are no longer regarded as subject to transfer from one European power to another." (1st Ann. Message, 1869).

In a word, we have by force of our power and resources maintained for ourselves a primacy upon this continent which has enabled us to fix its relations with the old world and to impose our will as the sole arbiter of American international affairs.

We are now, however, suddenly confronted with new conditions and new problems that require us to re-examine our fundamental maxims of international policy and perhaps to revise them. The time foretold by scores of our statesmen when the Cuban question would surely compel the United States to intervene in its own interests in the affairs of that island, came at last. It resulted, as had been foreboded, in a war with Spain which resulted with her expulsion from this continent. But it resulted also in what no statesman had ever foreseen or dreamed of—our expulsion into the other continent.

On May 1st, 1898, Dewey sank the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. An army of occupation was sent to take the city. A treaty of peace gave us the sovereignty of the Philippine archipelago. Our frontiers were extended until we faced as near neighbors in those waters, not merely the Asiatic powers, China and Japan, but the great European powers, Great Britain, Russia, Germany and France, the six greatest powers of the old world.

We faced them, moreover, at a moment in the history of the world when international rivalries were keenest, and international politics most complicated and dangerous.

Japan, victorious in her war with China, had been balked of her coveted prize by Russia, who took to herself the harbors and territories Japan had won and exacted. Great Britain, to preserve the balance of Asiatic influence, took to herself yet other harbors and territory. Germany made good her claim to others. France extended her Asiatic frontiers. And China, with oriental fatalism, kept what she could and looked inland toward her uncounted millions of subjects and outward toward her late foe, Japan, as instruments of future retribution and restoration. And any day Russia or Germany or France or England may demand yet more, will surely demand yet more, and China or Japan or one of the European civilizers, or two or more of them, may resist the demand, and then will come a welter of political entanglement or an appeal to force and arms.

Meanwhile can the United States, in its new island possessions, Asiatic in population and instinct and interest, hold aloof from the inevitable conflict? Already it has sought and received assurances as to the trade relations it may hope to maintain with China—not from China, but from the European powers who seem to have taken China's destiny into their own hands. But what if in the rapid march of events new conditions demand new measures? At present the United States relies upon the rivalries and jealousies of the European powers in Asia to subserve her own interests. But will they continue? What if the great mammoth nation of the north, girdled now with its trans-Siberian railway connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific, dotted with its rising iron-works, factories and ship yards, straining like an awakening giant to stretch his limbs, should push down over the Siberian plains into the Chinese Empire and proclaim Russian supremacy by uniting the two greatest Asiatic races into one political power? Could all the world resist the union and its consequences? If it could, would it not be at a sacrifice undreamed of in all the imaginings of men?

And where then would the United States stand in that struggle? Could we be indifferent spectators? Could we face it across a few hundred miles of sea as unmoved as if the Pacific rolled between it and us?

These are the new problems that are forced upon us by the battle of Manila and the treaty of Paris.

I do not now care to speak of the internal problems of the government of the Philippines, of the controversy over our moral right to hold and govern them, of the large question of the form in which we should govern them if we govern them at all: I wish to speak only of the international aspects of the policy of taking, holding and governing Asiatic territory and Asiatic people.

It must be remembered that save for the Philippines we have never taken any territory (except for naval harbors) outside of that sphere covered by our own Monroe Doctrine. Our anomalous interests in Samoa were perhaps an exception, but we long since repented of that experiment and have very recently escaped from it by accepting an island or two, valuable only for naval purposes, as our separate share of the partnership assets. We may therefore be said to have confined our expansion within American territory. Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii we have long contended were within the Monroe Doctrine and we have repeatedly warned European powers that Cuba and Porto Rico could not be transferred from Spain to any other European power and that Hawaii could not be taken by any European power. In annexing Porto Rico and Hawaii, and assuming control of the destiny of Cuba we have therefore been entirely consistent with our traditions and policy.

From that tradition and policy we have now departed in assuming sovereignty over the Philippines. We have passed beyond the sphere of influence which we had marked out for ourselves and have engaged with the European powers in the scramble for Asiatic spoils. What effect is this to have upon our fu-

ture international relations? What effect is it to have upon our traditonal diplomatic policy?

As yet, of course, we have made no change except the change in conditions. There are no new entangling alliances. There are no attempts at European aggression upon our continent. All remains as it was except that the United States has gone outside the American hemisphere, has become an Asiatic power, has projected itself into the arena of European political activities, interests and rivalries. In the cant phrase of the day we have become "a world power" in place of being merely an American power. If the contention of some interpreters of our constitution be correct and that document extends over all territory belonging to the United States, (which I do not believe) we must rename ourselves "The United States of America and Asia."

Changed conditions mean, or may mean, changed polices. What could safely and consistently be adhered to by an American power may prove unsafe or inconsistent for an Asiatic power. What is wise and dignified for a primate may be thought intolerable arrogance in an equal. In Asia the United States is in the presence of four European and two Asiatic states whose interests are greater and of longer standing than hers, whose external policies are less restricted by domestic conditions, whose mutual relations are intricate and often secret, and whose territorial ambitions and aspirations are practically unbounded. The United States is in Asia moreover at a period in the world's history unexampled for the intensity of land hunger, a period which has seen the occupation and division of practically the whole of Africa and is seeing the rapid occupation and division of Asia. It is an appetite that grows by what it feeds on. Will the United States in Asia acquire the appetite? Shall we be content with an archipelago of a thousand isles or shall we, before it is too late, strike boldly for a port on the mainland, for a territory tributary to it, for a vast continental "sphere of influence" even to the remotest hinterland?

Whether we rest content with our archipelago or reach for more, can we hope to keep clear of some "entangling alliances?"

No states that have engaged in similar enterprises under similar conditions have ever found it possible to live peaceably with equally enterprising neighbors without some system of mutual checks and balances. What our Federal Constitution is to our states, such "alliances," or such "concert of action" must be for powerful neighboring nations. All European history is filled with examples of this. Are we destined to blaze out a new way and to succeed alone where the most experienced European states have felt obliged to resort to understandings, alliances and secret treaties?

If, then, our permanent possession of the Philippines will mean a marked departure from the maxim enunciated by Washington and followed with fidelity by his successors, we may properly—nay, must rightfully—examine the question whether we are prepared openly and deliberately to reverse our century-old policy and to embark upon new and untried courses. I am aware that there are those entitled to great respect who do not shrink from such a result. It is argued that we have grown from a small and struggling state into a great and powerful nation; that the reasons that led our fathers to avoid contact with European embroilments no longer exist; that, in a word, we are a "world power" and ought to conduct ourselves as such.

Perhaps this is true. Perhaps it is also true that what has enabled us to become great and powerful has been in large part our strict adherence to the homely maxim of minding our own business. At all events a policy which has kept us out of the vortex of international complications is one not lightly to be discarded in the flush of a new found or newly realized strength. Nations, no more than men, need invite trouble merely because they feel themselves strong enough to meet it.

In any event we ought not to decide to become and to remain an Asiatic power without a full consideration of the effect of such a step upon our relations with European nations. The present happy relations between the United States and Great Britain have lulled us into a sense of security. The dream of Anglo-Saxon world domination has taken possession of our

imaginations. But an era of good feeling ought not to be an era of bad statesmanship. "Put not your trust in princes." Another Venezuelan incident, an Alaskan boundary dispute, an inter-oceanic canal complication, may dissipate in a day all the good understanding of years. The need of support in Asia may even compel us to abandon an advantage or a policy in America. Up to the present our political interests have been exclusively American, and we could defend them unembarrassed by any thought of the effect upon other political interests in the old world. With an Asiatic dependency we may be compelled to consider the effect in Asia of an Anglo-American or Anglo-German dispute in America. Insensibly, without any formal treaties of alliance, we may be drawn by necessity into entangling relations with old world powers which it has been our good fortune so far to escape.

It is in its reflex upon our cherished Monroe Doctrine, however, that the scheme of Asiatic Empire seems most likely to threaten our fundamental dogmas. Up to yesterday we had a consistent and well-ordered international policy. It was conceived in such a spirit of national self-interest that every party and every president has accepted it as an unquestioned part of our national creed. Between certain pretty well defined longitudes we claimed and exercised sole domination. Within that vast area, greater in extent than that over which any other nation ever claimed like dominion, the will of the United States was paramount and controlling. Our sphere of influence was a continent. Our will ran as international law over a full half of the habitable globe. Outside of that sphere of influence we did not obtrude: within it we did not permit other powers to intrude. The two policies were correlative. The old world for old-world powers: the new world for the new-world power. Such were our professions: such were our practices.

But if we do not respect our own policies can we expect others to do so? If we obtrude into the affairs of the old world can we consistently or rightfully claim to forbid old world powers to interfere in the affairs of America? If we pass outside the sphere we had marked out for ourselves can we expect that others will

not trespass upon our sphere? Can we abandon half our international policy and hope to keep the other half uninjured?

It must be remembered that at the bottom our Monroe Doctrine is based on the idea that to permit the extension of European territory on this continent would be dangerous to our peace and safety. In the furtherance of the policy we have sought whenever possible to secure the release of American territory from existing European ownership. In this we have succeeded to an extent that leaves practically but one thing to be desired. And yet, having from such a motive of safety freed ourselves from the presence of powerful and ambitious neighbors, we cross six thousand miles of water and settle down in proximity to the same unwelcome neighbors. How now shall we justify objecting to them as neighbors in America? If they are dangerous in America they are dangerous in Asia. If we may take an archipelago next door to them in Asia, why may they not take an archipelago next door to us in America? If we may buy the Philippines why may not Germany buy the Danish West Indies? As an exclusive American power we might justly claim the exclusive control of American affairs. As an Asiatic power we would do well to give and take, or, to follow the chronological order, to take and give.

We must not be blind to the fact that this question may soon be vital. Germany, of all the great powers, has not even a naval station in the new world. Yet Germany is fast becoming one of the foremost commercial nations of the world. Her trade with South America is large and increasing. Her subjects in Brazil and the Argentine Republic are numerous and their interests important. What England is doing in the Transvaal she may attempt in South America. Her ambitions keep pace with her power. She is ruled by a prince at once able and audacious. He has seen the United States about to abandon the half of its international policy and to render thereby the other half illogical and perhaps inexpedient. We are nearer to him in the Philippines than he would be to us in Brazil. On what ground shall we object if he sees fit to aid his subjects in South America to set up there a German dependency?

It is well known that Germany is ambitious to incorporate Holland into the German Empire. Should this ambition be realized Germany would succeed to immense colonial possessions, some of which are on this continent, some of which lie within a hundred and fifty miles of Porto Rico, and nearer to the proposed Nicaragua canal than any possession of the United States. Would Germany be a welcome neighbor in these waters. But welcome or not, is our title to object to such a transfer as clear as it would otherwise be if at the time the question arises we are already a voluntary neighbor of hers in Asiatic waters?

To sum up the whole situation, the United States has voluntarily become a party to the political problems of the old world; it is in a fair way to take the next step and become a party to the international compacts necessary to safeguard its Asiatic interests. It will then have abandoned the first half of its ancient international policy. It will at the same time and by the same act have rendered the second half illogical—perhaps impossible. Having stepped outside the circle which it itself drew it may find that another has entered the circle whose magic or power is thus destroyed. We should therefore be left with no settled international policy such as guided our predecessors. We should begin anew, and work out by painful experience another policy suited to our changed conditions. The experience of more than a hundred years would be lost. The revolution would be almost as complete as that which attends a radical change in internal governmental policies.

It seems proper, therefore, that we should view the Philippine problem in the light of our international policy. To put it boldly, we may ask, shall we keep the Philippines and give up our international policy, or shall we keep the policy and give up the Philippines? It is mainly a question of self-interest as are most questions of statecraft. Which in the long run is more likely to prove of the greater value, sole and paramount authority in America or a partial authority in America and Asia? Shall we rule one continent or divide the rule of two?

I do not undertake to say that to ask these questions is to answer them. Much, doubtless, may be wisely said on either side. I merely wish to emphasize what appears to me to have been generally overlooked, that these questions are involved and that they will be answered when the decision is made whether we shall retain permanently a great Asiatic dependency.

Whatever the answer may be—whether we decide to remain in the paths blazed out for us by the fathers or to depart from them and make new ways for ourselves and our posterity—I have an abiding confidence that the American people will prove equal to any task it undertakes and will preserve unshaken the foundations of representative popular government.

I do not wish to contend, as some are wont to do, that the government of an Asiatic dependency peopled by eight millions of orientals in various stages of development from savagery to civilization, is destructive of the republican idea upon which our institutions are founded. On the contrary, I hold that it is a palpable distortion of the generalizations of the Declaration of Independence to attempt to apply them to this problem. That document is not a statute nor a constitution, but a declaration by Englishmen of the English doctrine, applicable to English peoples. Its author evidenced by his subsequent official acts the interpretation which he put upon it. Our history and English history show alike that the saving grace of common sense is superior to any document or any theory. If we are to govern the Philippines permanently or temporarily it must be by a common sense system suited to their conditions and needs, and not by a system framed for the heirs of ten centuries of experience in self-government. In this I see nothing dangerous to our own institutions, or antagonistic to them. During the period in which England has taken to herself the government of many millions of orientals, and has governed them without the aid of the British constitution, she has passed from an aristocracy to a democracy, and her people enjoy to-day a larger measure of self-government than ever before in all her history.

If it shall be the duty or the fate of the United States to gov-

ern the Philippines, I believe we shall compass the task with advantage to them and without injury to our own institutions. That we shall make mistakes goes without saying. We are novices at the work, and must learn by experience. But our history does not bid us despair. What our own kith and kin have done in India we can do in the Philippines, if we must.

Neither do I think that we are acting contrary to good morals in undertaking such a mission. We are the guardians of a people in the infancy of statehood. What would be immoral would be to turn them adrift to fall a prey to their own unregulated instincts, or to the rapacity of others. That we have become responsible for their future no one can deny. That responsibility we can not shirk. I believe no American wishes us to shirk it. Whether we were wise in assuming the responsibility it is now fruitless to inquire. Having assumed it we must discharge it, or stand condemned and ashamed in the face of the civilized world.

But guardianship is not a permanent but a temporary office. It ceases when the ward is deemed competent to manage his own affairs. It is therefore proper for us to inquire whether we desire to retire from the office whenever circumstances render such a course proper, or whether we desire to incorporate and adopt the ward into our own family. In deciding that question we may honorably consider our own interests—internal and external. As an internal question it merits our earnest thought, but it is not my purpose to enlarge upon that to-night. As an external question, I hope I have been able to show that it involves a radical, a revolutionary change in our whole diplomatic policy, that it means the departure from our position as an exclusively American power with all the security from international complications that this insures to us, that it means a severe blow to our Monroe doctrine, if not an enforced abandonment of it. That is a heavy price to pay for an Asiatic archipelago unsuited by climatic conditions for American colonization. Aside from the constitution which they framed for our internal security, the fathers left us no more precious legacy than the two maxims which they framed for our external security. They are interwoven with all the woof and warp of our na-

tional history. They have given us stability, security and repose in our international relations. No one can over-estimate in a government like ours, with its quickly changing domestic politics, the value of a fixed and definite international policy which all men of all parties adhere to as they adhere to the constitution itself. To be set adrift without chart or rudder on the tempestuous sea of international politics would be a calamity beyond calculation. I hope, I believe, that we shall not have such a calamity visited upon us. I hope and believe that with the sober second thought of the American people will come the invincible conviction that Washington's farewell address and Monroe's message are worth more to us as an American nation —as the dominant and paramount American nation—than all the unnumbered islands of the Pacific.

THE MIGRATION OF TRADE CENTRES.

By Dr. Robert E. Jones, President of Hobart College.

The migration of trade centres has been in progress from the dawn of time. We cannot trace history back far enough to observe the cities of the river-basins of India, China, Mesopotamia, and Egypt begin to throw out lines of trade and communication beyond the Deltas where wealth and civilization first found favoring conditions. We know that there was a constantly increasing volume of trade borne on the Nile, Euphrates, Ganges and Yellow Rivers, and that the areas affected constantly increased. Ritter divides the history of civilization into three stages, the potamic, the thalassic and the oceanic, according as the means of inter-communication have been rivers, inland seas, or the broad oceans. The potamic stage is dim with the mists of antiquity, we can surmise its characteristics only from the present uses of the great rivers of Africa and Siberia. In the potamic stage there was no world-unity. Each river-basin was a centre of social organization with little relation to any other. Each was self-sufficing and complete, but when the Phoenecians joined the deltas of the Nile, the Indus, and Euphrates by commercial routes, pervaded the East with caravans, and covered the Mediterranean with their ships, the world-unity, whose still increasing power we feel to-day, had been effected. With the supremacy of Tyre the thalassic stage of history began. For centuries to come the Mediterranean was to be the centre of the world and the discovery of the mariner's compass, of a sea-route to India, and of a new world to the West, would be needed to end the thalassic and usher in the oceanic era of history. One period of the oceanic stage, the Atlantic, is well advanced, the second, the Pacific, has barely begun. The future student will divide history into four eras: The period of the rivers, of the Mediter-

ranean, of the Atlantic and of the Pacific. There has always been a process of expansion westward. Bishop Berkeley's famous line, "Westward the course of Empire takes its way," is history as well as poetry. New areas of civilization are opened up, new peoples take their places in the world economy, commercial and political supremacy centre in new places in successive centuries, but the trend is always westward. Tyre, Corinth and Alexandria, Rome, Constantinople, Venice and Genoa, Antwerp, Amsterdam and London successively gather to themselves, power, prestige and prosperity. Each epoch sees new cities take the primacy, while their older rivals languish and decay. After two centuries of supremacy London fears a change in the commercial equilibrium, and does its best to arrest a movement begun long before the Christian era. Bishop Berkeley was right when he said, "Westward the course of Empire takes its way." He was a little premature, however, when he saw Empire "stand on tiptoe on the European shore ready to pass to the American strand," but his countrymen now fear that he was wrong only in his chronology.

Any constant phenomenon like this is capable of explanation. To furnish such explanation is the true province of history. History is not a mere catalogue of events but a study of causes. The shifting of the world-centre is not capricious. What are the causes of its movement?

The explanation most often given is that political and military supremacy confer commercial dominance. Rome and England are called in proof, but Rome flourished on military plunder not on trade, she was not an original producer, her mercantile life was secondary, and finally Constantinople robbed her of what trade she had and compelled the removal of Emperors to the Golden Horn. The main trade routes east and west crossed at Constantinople and the legions could not keep Rome imperial. To make England's power the cause of her trade is to put the cart before the horse. The discovery of the new world and her mastery of the Atlantic built up England's prosperity and made her political dominance possible. The England of Elizabeth

was poor and politically third-rate Holland was never paramount in arms. Political causes are not primary.

Richness and diversity of natural products are fundamental elements of national prosperity. Nature is a positive source of wealth. The fertile field, the quarry and the mine, produce value which industrial skill manipulates but does not create. That a country should be prolific of food and raw material gives it a vast advantage in the economic strife. It is evident also that industrial skill, the power to make of raw material what the world desires to buy, is an added earnest of success. When a gift for manufacturing is a natural endowment, the profits of the manipulator are added to those of the original producer.

These things are evident but they do not explain the westward trend of trade-centres. Material resources are fairly stable, the valley of the Nile is as fertile now as it was in Moses' time. The inherent aptitude of nations remains much the same from age to age. We cannot trace an improvement in agriculture and manufacture preceeding and producing the transferrence of trade supremacy. The Phoenicians held but a strip of land along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, their own manufactures were but a tithe of what they marketed. Rome was unable to grow its own food and its craftsmen were seldom native born. Venice was a group of muddy islands in a barren lagoon. Amsterdam was at the mercy of its dykes, and London would collapse in a month if its foreign supplies of food and raw material were cut off. How little manufacturing skill alone avails was shown during our Civil War when the blockade shut up every cotton mill in Lancashire.

A study of the map of the Mediterranean and of the position of its successive trade-centres, would suggest that convenience of position, centrality and ease of intercourse are primary factors of trade supremacy. The Mediterranean was the focus of the known world. The city on its shores which, for the time being, was at the centre of the ever enlarging area of trade, where the main commercial routes converged and crossed each other, gave the

law to all the others. The point where exchanges could be made at least cost of transportation to both parties, the commercial half-way house, became economically supreme. Tyre was midway between the Persian Teheran and Tartessus in New found Spain. Constantinople was a half-way house between Gaul and the Indus. Venice became the meeting place of lengthening routes joining the Baltic with far Cathay. The discovery of the new world and of a sea route to India made Holland and England central and turned "Mediterranean" into an entire misnomer. Impairment of commercial convenience has always been followed by a decline of prosperity. The shifting of trade routes brings about far-reaching economic changes, the tunnelling of the Alps has heightened Italy's commercial rank, the consequences of the cutting of the Suez Canal are not yet fully developed, and the opening of the Nicarauga Canal will open also new chapters in history.

But the centrality of which we speak is not merely geographical. The discovery of new continents to the west was accompanied by readier intercourse with the older peoples of the East. China and India became accessible about the time of the discovery of America. Lisbon was a better half-way house to India and America than London.

The centrality under discussion is a commercial centrality, which is not measured in statute miles but in terms of combined ease of communication with settled peoples and developed civilization on one hand, and on the other, with countries which furnish opening markets and new sources of raw materials. The point of greatest profit is always somewhere on the outer edge of the area already commercially developed, as near as possible to the territory to be exploited. Lines of communication already established can be lengthened at small cost, but the advancement of transportation into new and unsubdued districts is a more serious matter, so the depot from which new operations are to be conducted is always carried as far as possible toward the territory to be developed. New people rise out of barbarism. Contact with higher civilization creates in them new desires and

energies, new values are put upon their products, services are exchanged with mutual advantage, and the world-unity is enlarged. Whenever new peoples have become large producers and consumers there has been a change of commercial equilibrium and the economic focus has been readjusted. Had America not been discovered the trade centre would be still located somewhere on the Mediterranean. A new market draws the trade centre in its direction, whatever that may be. The centre has moved westward simply because it was westward that undeveloped continents were found. Intercourse with hitherto closed countries to the eastward tends to draw the centre in that direction. When an oriental nation abandons the hermit policy the trade of Eastern Europe is vastly stimulated. The conquests of Alexander the Great, opening up the hither orient and Persia, caused the decline of Athens and Corinth, and made Antioch and Alexandria the centres of exchange. The march of Empire was eastward at that time. The movement of trade centres is due to the magnetism of new markets. The prosperity of Tyre was the creation of distant Spain, the discovery of which with its silver was to the Phoenecians what the discovery of South America with its mines was to the Spaniards in more modern times. The riches and resources of awakening France and Flanders and England drew the chief marts to Venice and Genoa. Undeveloped Scandinavia and Russia poured their trade into Antwerp, and America was a magnet which drew the world emporium to London, from whence the approaches to the new source of wealth could be best commanded. The magnetism of new markets is the most potent and constant cause of the migration of trade centres. There are lesser causes but we need not treat of them now. The primary course of commercial expansion is a reaching out for new markets and sources of raw materials, this expansion has mainly tended westward, but trade would exercise its magnetic force in favor of the East should commercial opportunities at any time predominate in that direction.

The new market exercises compulsion over the world, it changes the map, sets up one people and pulls down another

from their long supremacy. Not alone the balance and proportion of trade are changed, but all other values and relations. But can we truly say that the new market exercises *compulsion* over the world when a civilized nation employs all its forces, political and social, to subdue a new continent or bring some barbarous people under its control? To many people modern civilization seems the immoral intrustion of arbitrary power. There are two kinds of colonization, the one governmental, the other private and individual. In the first case the government establishes a claim on some undeveloped territory, sends out its army and its civil governors, sets up public machinery, invites merchants and colonists to follow, and endeavors to draw the natives into European ways. Instances are found in Tonquin and German East Africa. In private colonization, on the other hand, individuals see opportunities of gain and livelihood, and of their own motion become settlers—conquer nature, develop latent resources, and at last demand the protection of their own government. Such are the world-encircling colonies of England. The safe-guards of English prestige are thrown around self-created industrial communities, whose strengthh and prosperity are rooted in private initiative and investment. France and Germany appropriate derelict territory, send out a corps of officials, and hope that "trade will follow the flag." England's flag follows trade, and only condescends to wave when her sons have at their own individual risk, created something worth while waving over. In one case we have land-grabbing and artificial colonization, and in the other the compulsive attraction which unexploited countries have always exercised on congested ones. Any colonizing movement which has enlarged livelihood as its object cannot be called either artificial, arbitrary or immoral. The need of daily bread is the world's motive force. As the older centres become congested and life increasingly difficult to sustain, any new land of ampler opportunity will exercise compulsion over the old. The compulsion of avoiding starvation at home is a less rhetorical way of putting it; in view of the fundamental human necessity of remaining alive, a new country where daily bread may be more readily had, exercises an attractive force no less powerful than

compulsion. The movement which has drawn the trade centre westward with it has always been of this unartificial, compulsive nature. Governmental colonization is a flat failure in modern times. To reach out after larger opportunities of livelihood has always been the world's way of praying "Give us this day our daily bread." In the abundance of our natural resources we have hitherto been unsympathetic with the European struggle for life. Europe must reach beyond its narrow borders or starve at home. But our first flush of plenty has passed away. Congestion is upon us. It is very difficult for a young man to get a start in life. Interest is so low that a widow's little patrimony is insufficient to support her family, and we must change our censorious attitude toward those who go to the ends of the world for mere daily bread.

The westward trend of trade centres has been an index of the general movement toward those parts of the earth where openings for investment and possibilities of livelihood were, for the time being, most ample and it is likely that any area of investment or opportunity suddenly thrown open will cause a change of commercial equilibrium and the establishment of new centres.

The most momentous of all contemporary events is the coming of the Orient into the world-unity. The East has awakened from her immemorial sleep and aspires to take her place in the international economy. Her wants are multiplying, her energies awakening, and her trade is the greatest unappropriated asset of the commercial world. The importance of the Chinese markets alone is shown by the scramble of armed nations now taking place. No one can forecast the total outcome of this stupendous movement, there is but one certainty, namely, that the Orient will be profoundly felt throughout our social fabric, and that there will be a shifting of the trade centre in obedience to the oriental gravitation. The future location of the trade-centre is the great controversy of nations. Current international happenings are intelligible only with reference to this dispute. "Where shall the trade-centre shift to" is the debate of Europe, the action of England, Russia and Germany is taken with reference to

it, and the United States have more at stake than is imagined.

The national trait of believing that things must come our way leads some people to assume that the centre, moving always westward, can change only from London to New York and after a long interval, perhaps to San Francisco, to remain there permanently. "Westward the course of Empire takes its way" is not the statement of a law. Historical science, as well as current happenings, suggests the possibility of a change of direction. There are potent forces attracting the centre eastward, and its ultimate position is wholly undertermined. Russia, France, England, Italy and Germany strive for concessions and spheres of influence in China, most of them intending to shut out competitors from whatever territory they can grasp. They hope to make sure of some commercal benefit by the forcible exclusion of rivals, but underneath their bickering is the conviction that the most efficient and convenient lines of transportation will give the final victory to the nation that commands them. The spoils of the Orient will fall to those controlling superior trade routes.

Her positon on the Atlantic gave England the advantage in the exploitation of the new world, but to-day England "hears the East a-calling" and her station in the northern ocean is comparatively unfavorable. Between her and the oriental markets there are competitors quick to use their geographical advantage. By maintaining water routes in all directions and especially to the East, England struggles hard to retain her prestige. There is not an eastern sea whose waters are not plowed by her subsidized merchant marine, and the Suez Canal seems worth holding at the cost of responsibility for the whole of Egypt and the chronic exasperation of France, simply because it is the turnstile between East and West. The commercial prestige of England on the sea is shown by the yearly statistics of the Canal. Vessels under the British flag pay annually ten million dollars in canal tolls, while the ships of all other nations combined pay only five million. England's continued prosperity depends on maintaining the most efficient trade routes. London now acknowledges the rivalry of New York and as the United States becomes a

creditor nation the rivalry will deepen, but for the present London fears an eastward far more than any westward migration of the centre. Russia, Germany and France are striving to perfect land-routes to China. A vast system of railways entering China from the west is already completed. The continental railway centre has abandoned Brussels for Berlin and will go still farther eastward. The Trans-Siberian Railroad already touches the confines of China. The Trans-Caspian route will finally traverse central Asia, and the Euphrates-Persian Railroad will have its ultimate terminus in Southern China. Our own trans-continental systems the Northern, Central and Southern Pacific Railroads, are about to have their Russo-Asian counterparts. The idea that England can best be overcome by commercial rivalry in Asia is as old as Napoleon, it actuated his Egyptian campaign and inspires to-day every continental statesman. There is in progress a great duel between land transportation and sea-carriage, with oriental supremacy for the prize. England strives to keep her primacy, and the continental nations are determined to reverse the accustomed march of Empire. There is no inherent reason why the magnetism of the oriental market should not draw the centre eastward and southward to its old seat. The Russians covet Constantinople, not only as an outlet into the Mediterranean, but also because when at last Asia is covered with railroads, Constantinople will become once more the meeting place of the East and West. England approaches the orient by eastward reaching sea-routes, Russia does the same by land; one hopes to hold the trade-centre where it is, the other strives to draw it eastward. There is an alternative already touched upon, but laid aside for the time, that suggested by Bishop Berkeley's line, and also by Sir John Seeley's prediction that a century later there are likely to be but two world-powers, Russia and the United States. The balance of trade lately inclining in our favor points to a change in our direction; as far as the commercial equilibrium of the Atlantic goes, we have every reason to be satisfied with our prospects, and our sudden acquisition of the Philippines gives us a relation to the Orient and a station there likely to make us para-

mont in the Pacific system about to be developed. A few years ago we had in the East neither standing ground nor any responsibility, to-day we are so involved that withdrawal is impossible. The value of the Philippines considered apart from international problems is much in doubt, but an independent commercial base on the edge of the Orient is likely to be of incalculable service. The paramount power in the Pacific seems thrust upon us, and if world centrality be any prophecy, the burdens of the future and its victories alike are ours.

A secular migration of trade-centres, the index of a general movement towards the scene of enlarged commercial activities, has been proved sufficiently. The magnetism of new markets (an operative force to-day and furnishing perhaps the best explanation of contemporary international affairs) needs no further discussion.

We are brought to ask: What are the conditions of the permanence of trade-centers? Is there any combination of circumstances which assures a stable economic primacy, or is it likely that the focus of prosperity is essentially migratory? These questions have been partially answered in the turns of our discussion, but it may be useful to make the replies explicit.

In the first place no country can continue to be autonomous unless it can produce its own food and raw material, failing to do so it is open to many vicissitudes. Carthage, Rome and Venice were dependant on the outside world for their supplies, narrowness of base was Holland's handicap, and modern England is a vast workshop where neither food nor raw material suffices for her needs. A constant outgo for the means of sustenance must tax any country.

The next fundamental of supremacy is skill in manufactures. The ante-bellum Southern States were always heavily in debt because they could neither weave nor print their cotton. The wool of medieval England enriched Belgium, where it was sent to be dyed and woven, more than it did the grower country. The natural resources of England did not support a large prosperity

until the expulsion from their native land of the Huguenots and Dutch Protestants supplied her with high industrial skill. Ideal conditions prevail when the profits of the producer from the soil and of the skilled manipulator are kept at home and interchanged.

The third desideratum is facility of distribution and exchange. A broad country, rich in natural resources, filled with industrious people, skillful in manufactures, will need outlets for its products and many avenues whereby to reach the markets of the world. Domestic consumption cannot absorb the enormous result of modern machine production, the command of foreign markets is indispensable.

A central situation, a half-way station on the main trade routes, has been shown to be an advantage, but centrality loses much of its value unless there is also an ample merchant marine, organized and owned by the people who wish to reach the foreign markets. In spite of being neither producer nor manufacturer, Venice, the great common carrier, ruled the world as, for the same reason, England does to-day. England buys food and raw material from us, but what we pay her back in ocean freights keeps the balance in her favor. An ample merchant marine, almost alone and by itself, ensures prosperity. England's centrality is menaced, she is but a foodless workshop, but she "rules the waves," and consequently the markets, and when a rival successfully disputes her maritime supremacy the beginnings of decay will be upon her, and Sir John Seeley's vision of but two world powers will be realized.

Breadth of base, industrial skill and facilities for distribution are requisites for a continuous trade supremacy. Not often are they found together, any two of them suffice for prosperity and prominence, but if all three co-exist they are guarantees of no merely ephemeral advantage.

The questions raised have now been answered in barest outline. It would be easy to multiply historical illustrations, but to do so would tend to weariness. We could now profitably

close our discussion, but we cannot refrain from forecasting our national future by the formulas we have discovered. We are compelled to ask, "What likelihood is there that the course of Empire will still be westward? What requisities of stability are ours wherewith permanently to stay the trade-centre, if it does abandon London in favor of New York?"

Our breadth of base and natural productiveness are unexampled. Canada and Siberia alone rival our extent of territory, but rigorous climates and insufficient population shut them out of competition. Food and raw materials are largely in excess of our immediate wants, and circumstances whereby we might become dependant are unimaginable. We are but beginning to reach our normal productivity. The century just ending has been one of preparation, of subduing nature and of ascertaining the extent of our resources. Hitherto we have depended upon borrowed capital, and have been a debtor nation, but now low rates of interest testify that home capital is anxiously seeking investment. The future fecundity of our domain will utterly dwarf the output of the past.

Our industrial capacity is likewise but just full-grown. The genius of our people is mechanical, Americans invent and manufacture, as the Greeks philosophized, by instinct. Since the Civil War we have been equipping ourselves with the tools of production and internal transportation, with rolling mills, foundries, factories, shipyards and railroads. The era of experimental manufacture is over, and for the first time we are in a position fully to work up and utilize the material so richly at command. With all modern appliances wielded by vast aggregation of capital, we are entering upon an industrial era of whose productivity our past output furnishes no criterion. In this there is a danger already felt, and one that will increase in urgency. Already we manufacture one-third more than we can consume at home. This surplus will enlarge immensely, and unless we can find outlets for it our very advantages will overwhelm us. Over production is a serious menance.

With regard to the third requisite, facilities of distribution and

exchange, we are less fortunate. We occupy indeed a central station, midway between Europe and the Orient, but China is sixteen thousand miles away around Cape Horn, and the carrying trade of the Pacific is in the hands of the Englishman. Our centrality is merely geographical, not commercial and practical. Our merchant marine disappeared during the Civil War, and we have made no real effort to revive it. With a coast line of five thousand miles on three oceans, we have no shipping, we are at a desperate disadvantage as to foreign markets. But fortunately these handicaps can be thrown off. These obstacles are not insurmountable, and now that the guns of Dewey have awakened us from our pre-occupation with internal development, and furnished us with a stake and standing-ground in the Orient, the nation will probably address itself to such remedial measures as may be required.

The first remedial measure is the construction of a ship canal between the Atlantic and Pacific either at Panama or Nicaraugua. Such a canal would make our geographical centrality commercial and practical, and give us command of what would become the main westward trade route of the world. When the Oregon hastened from San Francisco to Santiago she had to steam eight thousand unnecessary miles. A waterway across the Isthmus would offset the Suez Canal and bring New York as near Hong Kong as London is. With our Philippine terminal we would have the best approaches to the eastern markets, and the oriental magnetism would draw the trade centre westward to our shores. The struggle of England and Russia would die down in the victory of another. Facing three connected oceans, the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Caribbean, we could not avoid becoming paramount. With the longest available coast line in the world, and with a genius for seafaring, we are not yet a maritime nation although our future hangs upon it. The first effect of the oriental magnetism is the present increased prosperity of the Pacific States, and if the Isthmus were cut through, the Southern States would also be revivified. The Pacific and the Gulf States have hitherto enjoyed no sufficient

market, and have remained comparatively undeveloped. The present awakening in San Francisco is but a suggestion of what awaits us if our national procedure be at all intelligent! The insoluble problem of the Solid South and of the relation of the races, will be solved only by an industrial and agricultural revival, keeping all too busy for politics or negro baiting. The Gulf and River States have never profited as they should by the proximity of the Southern continent, now chiefly supplied from Europe. A maritine awakening will change all this, and the canal will make all parts of South America accessible alike. We shall one day have three sea-gates of like importance: New York, San Francisco and New Orleans, but, until we have our own lines of communication running to the ends of the earth, we shall not enter upon the heritage that awaits us.

Captain Mahan has so thoroughly proved the importance of sea power both warlike and civil, that we need not dwell long upon our remaining disadvantage, the absence of a merchant marine. Without ships, neither breadth of base, mechanical nor centrality of position reach their highest avail. The ocean freights that a shipless power must pay are heavy fines of incapacity. New York goods bound for South America must be consigned to Liverpool, and then there trans-shipped in English vessels which bring no return cargoes to New York. We are ready to protect infant industries, and to keep on protecting them after they are overgrown, but we have not fostered the agency by which alone protected goods can be distributed. Our laws make both the building and working of ships more expensive than is the case in any other country. England and the continental powers encourage shipbuilding by subsidies, bounties and mail contracts; we shall never have a commercial navy until it becomes possible for the American shipbuilder and shipmaster to meet foreign competition on equal terms. We are willing to build a navy, but the chief function of a navy, the protection of commerce, it cannot perform, for we have no commerce. It is likely to be one of the best results of the Spanish War that the public mind is at last arousing to our needs. We

can hope within the next few years to see our flag once more upon the seas from which the Confederate cruisers banished it. Our merchant marine once restored and the Isthmian Canal completed, we shall enjoy facilities of distribution and exchange as pre-eminent as our natural resources and mechanical skill. The three requisities of permanent supremacy will co-exist, and the course of Empire will still be westward, with little likelihood of removal beyond our borders, for upon this continent the East and West will have met, and a stable economic equilibrium will be at last attained.

"RECOLLECTIONS OF LINCOLN AND GRANT."

Gen. James Grant Wilson, New York.

Gen. James Grant Wilson of New York, gave a most interesting address at the Munson-Williams upon the topic "Recollections of Lincoln and Grant." Gen. Wilson was intimately acquainted with both of these two famous Americans, having been associated with the former in Springfield and Washington, and with the latter during the Vicksburg campaign and elsewhere, as well as in later life. He also spoke briefly of Washington, having been acquainted with those who were close friends of the first President. He came to Utica upon the invitation of the Oneida Historical Society and spoke under its auspices. The audience was one of the largest that ever assembled in the building, many of those who came being obliged to stand. A large delegation of G. A. R. veterans and a goodly number of the boys who went to Honolulu were among those present.

Hon. Alfred C. Coxe, president of the Society, occupied the chair. The programme opened with a selection on the harp by Miss M. Nellie Charles. It was a union of three airs, and was artistically rendered. Miss Anna Evarts Chase then gave a recitation in fine style. This was followed by another selection on the harp by Miss Charles, embracing "America," "The Star Spangled Banner," "Home Sweet Home" and "Nearer My God to Thee," and this in turn by a recitation in Scotch dialect by Miss Chase, also finely rendered.

Judge Coxe then introduced Gen. Wilson, who, in opening his address, said: By the general consent of the English-speaking world, Washington, Lincoln and Grant are accepted as the three greatest Americans. The first was the founder, the second the liberator and the third the savior of our country. It

was my good fortune in early life to have among my acquaintances some who were associates of Washington; with the martyred President I enjoyed an acquaintance extending over a period of six years and with the soldier President I was on intimate terms for a quarter of a century, lacking less than a single year.

Speaking of Washington, Gen. Wilson said: A short time before the Civil War I was present at a celebration in Virginia of the anniversary of the birth of the founder of his country. Mr. Custis, his adopted son, was the host, and his daughter Mary, wife of Robert E. Lee, then Lieut. Col. of the Second United States Cavalry, was the hostess.

The guests were some Richmond belles and Baltimore beauties, several young Virginians, and two college students from the North. The day was spent in a most delightful manner in listening to recollections of Washington, in looking at his books. It was a red letter day, "a day never to be forgotten in this world." Alas, of all that happy house party, he who now speaks to you is the only survivor. The place of that meeting was Arlington, now a National Cemetery, in which sleep many thousands of the soldiers who so ably served the country.

After speaking of several estimates of Washington's character as made by various people, Gen. Wilson said: Shortly after the battle of Saratoga Washington met Gen. Arnold, and after complimenting him on his bravery said to him: "I understand that in the battle you lost a pair of cuff links. Permit me to replace them with this pair of mine, which I have worn for some months. When Arnold had become a traitor he no longer took pleasure in wearing the sleeve links, and gave them to Col Tarleton, a comrade who treated him with more kindness and respect than did the others. Col. Tarleton eventually gave them to an American Loyalist, and he in turn to his son, Fitz-Greene Halleck. The poet bequeathed them to a young friend, who became his biographer, and here are the sleeve links. As he spoke Gen. Wilson held up his hands, showing his cuffs and the beautiful gold links.

Speaking then of Lincoln Gen. Wilson said: Abraham Lincoln was one of nature's noblemen. The impressions I received when I first saw him was that I was looking at as ungainly and ill-appearing a man as I ever saw. The conversation turned upon ancestors, and I remember that the judge who introduced me asked Lincoln where his earliest ancestor in this country lived. Lincoln replied: "In Hingham or Hanghim, which was it?" Gen. Wilson then related an incident in which he had told Lincoln of a saying of Mr. Custis that Washington was never thrown in a wrestling match. Lincoln replied: "I stand in that same position. If I could have met Washington it would have been a tussle between Illinois and one of the aristocracy of old Virginia, and I rather think old Illinois would have kept up its end." Gen. Wilson then told of going to Washington to see his brother, who had been wounded in battle and placed in the hospital. While there he called on the President, who, upon hearing of the injured captain insisted upon going to see him. Lincoln recognized in young Wilson a likeness to his own son, whom he had lost, and therefore he and Mrs. Lincoln were daily visitors at the hospital until the captain died. I mention this, Gen. Wilson said, to show how kind-hearted Mrs. Lincoln as well as the President was. With all her peculiarities she was a tender-hearted woman. Gen. Wilson then spoke of several incidents showing Lincoln's effective but humorous way of dealing with persistent office-seekers. He said that at Lincoln's second inauguration he was present and stood within a few feet of the President. That inaugural address, he said, is one of the gems of the language. I do not know why it was that Lincoln should have made such wonderful addresses as he did at Gettysburg and elsewhere, but it has been believed, that many of his words will live as long as any in the language. Gen. Wilson then gave the concluding portion of Lincoln's second inaugural address in a manner that called forth the applause of the audience. He then related several incidents showing Lincoln's love of a joke, and, continuing, told of being with the President and others in the box in Ford's theater in Washington in which a short time afterward Lincoln was shot. He said that the President ap-

peared sad and weary, and did not take any interest in the play. When asked about it Lincoln said that he merely wanted to rest. A few moments later, Gen. Wilson said, I felt Lincoln's hand on my shoulder, and, looking around, I saw a different man. His face was full of animation, and his eyes were bright. He said he had been thinking of a story, and then he proceeded to tell me how Grant, when a boy, had stolen in under the edge of a circus tent and had ridden a bucking mule, after a second attempt, when many others who tried had failed. Now, said Lincoln, when he had finished the story, just so will Grant hang on to Bob Lee. Exactly twenty days later Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox. The day of Lincoln's death, Gen. Wilson continued, Grant told me was the saddest day of his life, and I think it was for a great many Americans.

Speaking of Grant, Gen. Wilson said: We should all thank God that in the time of trouble he gave us Grant as he gave us Washington and Lincoln. "In his simplicity he was sublime," has been said of Grant. He was a tower of strength that stood four-square to every wind that blew. I first saw Grant at West Point. On that day he was called upon to give an exhibition of horsemanship and he took his horse over a 6 feet 6 inches leap. This is the highest recorded in military annals. Grant was a fine horseman; in the whole army he had no superior. He was one of the plainest of men. In the summer of 1861 I presented myself to him, he being then brigadier general. He neither then nor at any time afterward had any style. He was as plain and unassuming an officer as you could meet. Gen. Wilson then relates several incidents showing different phases of Grant's life, and in concluding said:

It is the glory of these three great Americans of whom I have spoken that they were alike spotless in all the relations of private life. Their names will always be cherished by their admiring countrymen, and upon the adamant of their fame, the stream of time will beat without injury.

Upon motion of Gen. Charles W. Darling, seconded by Prof. Herbert Pease, a vote of thanks was given to Gen. Wilson, Miss Charles and Miss Chase.

"THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF SOME INVENTIONS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY."

Edmund Wetmore, New York.

Never before has the human race, within the same period of time, made so long a march in the advance of civilization as in the nineteenth century. It has had its failures, it has made its errors, it has left for the twentieth century new problems to solve, and all that that century can do, but the shadow of what it has failed to accomplish cannot darken the glory of its triumphs. Vast have been its achievements and wide its humanity; it has stricken the shackles from the slave and made servants of the forces of nature. It is of this last that I would speak this evening. The triumph of man over matter, the genius that has made the lightning our messenger, has caused inanimate wood and iron to move as if endowed with human volition, and has sent the mere spoken word, over boundless distance, clear and unbroken, to the ear waiting to receive it.

I would show, in some few particulars, how mechanical invention has directed the course of our present civilization—how our life of to-day, the stage of development we have reached, our society, our politics, our ideas, the conditions by which we are surrounded have been profoundly influenced by the work of the inventor. The theme is too large to admit of more than one or two instances of a truth I cannot attempt to expound, but can only briefly illustrate. I take my illustrations from inventions that relate to transportations by water and land, to the transmission of intelligence and cheap production. The steamboat, the railroad, the telegraph and modern machinery.

Robert Fulton was the inventor of the steamboat and the father of steam navigation. I know that this claim has been

disputed. Others had the idea before him, others made futile experiments, but he alone took the last step that lay between failure and success. The Abbe Amal in France propelled a boat by steam in the water, but it came to nothing; Fitch, on the Delaware, used the same motive power to work a boat by paddles, but it failed. One man had suggested one thing and another another. Nicholas Roosevelt was shown by the late Mr. Latrobe of Baltimore to have been the true originator of the vertical side wheels, and as their peculiarity is that they stand up straight and strike hard, the idea was a natural outgrowth of family traits that have survived to the present day.

Fulton, however, was the master workman who supplied that which was wanting for final accomplishment, and achieved the long sought for victory over wind and waves. Born in 1765 in the town of Little Britain in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, he evinced, as a boy, equal talents for invention and painting. Necessity turned him towards the latter as a more immediate means of earning a living, and his success in Philadelphia, as an artist, and especially a portrait painter, was such that when he was twenty-one he was able to go abroad to continue his studies and became the pupil and friend of his fellow countryman, Benjamin West, in whose family he resided for several years. In 1797 he went to Paris and took lodgings in an apartment house where Joel Barlow and his family were then living. Joel Barlow, little remembered now, but, in his day, one of the conspicuous men of the country, serving as Consul at Algiers and Minister to France, possessed of large means and a poet whose works are never found outside of fragments preserved in histories of American literature, took a great fancy to Fulton, who, notwithstanding the fact that he was an inventor—a class of persons the most difficult in the world to get along with—except philanthropists—was a most companionable and attractive man, and when Barlow moved his quarters to a hotel of his own, Fulton accompanied him and lived with the Barlows in Paris for seven years. During this time and during the latter part of his stay in England his activity

was unbounded. He was an artist of no mean ability, and loved his art, but he had the inventor's restlessness, and more and more resorted to his brush simply for the purpose of acquiring the money to lose in his experiments. He very early turned his attention to navigation, especially to naval warfare. Notwithstanding the fact that his father was a native of Kilkenny, Ireland, he was an ardent advocate of peace-association with Philadelphia Quakerism may have modified hereditary tendencies. The method he proposed for bringing about the abolition of war was radical. He endeavored to invent marine torpedoes of such destructive force that nothing could stand against them, and proposed to secure universal peace by blowing every warship to pieces. He wrote and argued that with such weapons, war upon the seas would become so destructive as to be impossible, and his inventions in this direction, though now forgotten, showed the way to the very latest developments of torpedo warfare. In 1801 he constructed a diving boat, rigged with masts and sails, and in the harbor of Brest, he lowered all her top hamper and prepared for plunging in two minutes, caused the boat to dive, navigated her in every direction under water, with a propeller, remained under water four hours, and with his submarine torpedo blew up a small shallop, nearly a hundred feet in the air. The British fleet was then blockading the French coast, and he endeavored to experiment upon their frigates, but they kept at a wary distance. The matter was so serious that Lord Stanhope called attention to it in Parliament, and proposals, which came to nothing, were made to induce Fulton to give his services to England. But, before long, his energies were turned in another direction. In the year last mentioned, 1801, Robert R. Livingston, the first Chancellor of the State of New York, whose old mansion may still be seen among the trees, overlooking the Hudson at Claremont Landing, was appointed Minister to France, and two years after his arrival, was one of the envoys who, nobly daring to exceed their instructions, closed with the impetuous offer of Napoleon for the sale of Louisiana, and added half a continent to the ter-

ritory of the United States. Livingston was a statesman, a jurist, a natural philosopher, an American Lord Bacon, with much of the wisdom, but none of the weaknesses of the illustrious Englishman. As a statesman he appreciated the far-reaching consequences of steam navigation, and had made unsuccessful efforts himself to construct a steamboat. He had procured from the legislature of New York in 1798 an act securing to him the exclusive right and privilege of navigating boats propelled by steam on all the waters of the State, for twenty years, on condition that within twelve months he should build such a boat whose mean rate of progress should be four miles an hour. He failed to fulfill the condition, but the act was subsequently extended, and under its operation, Fulton and Livingston first successfully navigated the waters of the State by steam. It is interesting to observe that the great achievement of steam navigation was thus the legitimate child of the most undisguised and all embracing monopoly.

Fulton quickly made Livingston's acquaintance in Paris, and was inspired to continue his efforts in the direction of steam propulsion upon instead of beneath the surface of the water. Barlow, as well as Livingston, contributed funds to the enterprise. Experiments were made upon the Seine and by 1805, so confident were the parties of success that an engine to be made according to Fulton's directions was ordered from the celebrated firm of Watts & Bolton of Birmingham, England, and in 1806, Fulton returned to this country to find the engine upon the docks held for freight charges. Chancellor Livingston had returning the preceding year the property was released and in the spring of 1807, the construction of the steamboat was begun at Charles Brown's shipyard on the East River, not far from the site of the present Brooklyn bridge. The assemblage of citizens of leisure who always congregate as a committee of observation about any work of construction carried on in public, sat around upon convenient timbers, or hung their legs over adjacent wharves, and the sense of the meeting was that the experiment was doomed to failure, and the boat was dubbed

"Fulton's Folly." She was finished by midsummer, and a trial trip made as far as the Jersey shore. The trip developed defects in her paddles, which were remedied by Fulton, and she was brought around into the North River, and it was announced that she would start for Albany from a wharf near the present Christopher Street Ferry at nine o'clock on the morning of August 7th, 1807. The invited guests attended in a somewhat shamefaced way, each feeling that he might bear some of the ridicule of expected failure, but willing to go if the others would. The boat is usually said to have been named the "Clermont, but the last surviving passenger of her first voyage, Dr. William Perry of Exeter, New Hampshire, who died in 1886, and who for the last few years before his death was the oldest living graduate of Harvard, said that she was named Katharine of Clermont, after Mrs. Fulton, who was a Miss Kate Livingston. The boat was flat bottomed, 160 feet long by 16½ feet beam. She had two masts and a high smoke stack, and side paddle wheels without boxes. The pilot stood at the wheel with no pilot house, or even awning for protection. She burned wood, and left a train of sparks and smoke behind her. A considerable crowd assembled to see the start. Some on the shore, some in boats on the river. The school children ran down to what was then a bluff overlooking the river a little ways above the starting point. The departure was delayed till one o'clock. When that hour arrived, the signal was given, the cranks began to move, and slowly at first and then faster, the paddles pounding the water, she went ahead. Incredulity gave way to wonder, as sturdily, noisily, but steadily, she made her resistless way, disdaining wind and tide. Cheers arose at last—the late tribute to persevering genius. The news of her coming preceded her, and the people hurried to the banks as she went by. The old skippers of the river craft, as she passed them, expressed their astonishment in the skipper's familiar dialect. A Jersey farmer, as the story runs, saw her from the Palisades as she went echoing by, and hurrying home told his wife he'd seen the devil going to Albany on a saw mill. The late Thurlow Weed, then a small boy, took off his clothes and

swam out to an island near Catskill to get a better view, and lived to see the magnificent boats of the People's Line that now ply upon the river. Fulton's boat reached Clermont, Chancellor Livingston's seat, in 24 hours, and starting at nine the next morning reach Albany at five in the afternoon, having made the passage in 32 hours. The deed was done. Winds and tides that had ruled navigation, since the first vessel was put afloat, were conquered. In twelve years the first steamer crossed the ocean. Henceforth seas and rivers were to be the swift and easy highways of the world.

George Stevenson in England, some years later, in 1825, first brought the locomotive to the stage of practical efficiency, and from that date, the modern railway began. These inventions of Fulton and Stevenson endowed with new powers the means for the transportation of men and their goods, a greatest miracle remained to be accomplished—the transmission of their messages as quickly as the thoughts that they expressed. The wonderful conception that made this possible was born in midocean—the firmament above the waters beneath—a fitting chamber for the birth of an invention that enabled mankind to speak to each other across the seas and from the uttermost parts of the earth.

The packet ship Sully had sailed from Havre for New York October 1st, 1832. Among the passengers were Mr. Rives, our Minister, then returning to this country with his family; Dr. Charles T. Jackon, of Boston; and Mr. Samuel F. B. Morse, of New York, another artist and portrait painter, who had been spending some time abroad, and had always taken much interest in natural science. The conversation around the cabin table turned upon late discoveries in magnetism in France, and Dr. Jackson remarked that electricity passed instantaneously over any known length of wire. "Then," said Mr. Morse, "I see no reason why intelligence should not be transmitted instantly by electricity." He went on deck and looking out over the broad expanse of waters, beneath which, within thirty years, the idea then forming in his brain was to send the news of the world.

he thought out in rude outline the way to make the subtle force do the required work. He drew sketches of his plan in his note-book. The idea took possession of him, and thereafter would give him no rest. He told his brother when he landed he had made a discovery that would astonish the world, and for twelve long years thereafter his life was given up to its development and perfection. His brothers published, at that time, a newspaper at the corner of Nassau and Beekman Street, and they gave him a room in the fifth story of the building, which he used as a bed-room and workshop, and labored away with scanty means, but unfailing faith. In 1835 he was appointed professor of the literature of the arts of design in the New York University, and moved his quarters to the third floor front rooms in the north wing of the old University building on Washington Square, and, there, denying himself everything that would impede his work, supporting himself by teaching, and such time as he could give to his profession as an artist, he kept steadily on until he had completed his invention and was ready to give it to the world. He was long in making converts to his own belief in its practicability. He showed and explained it to learned bodies, and to all he found who might aid in its introduction, but he was working against the vast inertia of natural distrust as to the practical possibilities of what seemed so wonderful in experimental form.

At last, in 1843, by dint of unremitting and wearisome exertion a bill was introduced in Congress and favorably reported appropriating $40,000 to the erection of a line between Washington and Baltimore. It was opposed as an unjustifiable expenditure of the public money in wild experiment. The funny man of the house proposed as an amendment that half the sum be spent in experiments in mesmerism, then regarded as the latest humbug of the day. The end of the session approached, and there seemed to be no prospect of the passage of the bill, but at last it passed the House and reached the Senate, and on the last night of the session Mr. Morse waited about the Senate Chamber under the strain of intense anxiety, until he was told that the hour of adjournment was so near it was utterly im-

possible for his bill to pass during the final rush and, weary with hope deferred, he crept back to his hotel. Early the next morning word was sent up to him that a young lady wished to see him in the parlor. On answering the summons he found waiting for him Miss Annie Elsworth, the daughter of Commissioner Elsworth, of the Patent Office. Her father had most earnestly seconded the efforts of Mr. Morse to obtain Congressional aid, and the daughter had taken up the cause with all a young girl's enthusiasm. She came forward with a beaming face, "Professor Morse, I've come to be the first to congratulate you on the passage of your bill." He shook his head sadly . "But Annie, you're quite mistaken, I left the Senate just before adjournment last night, and it didn't get through." "But it did, Mr. Morse, father stayed till the end—it passed at the last minute, and father saw the president sign it." Americans are not given to displays of emotion. We can think of the rush of feeling that must have surged through the heart of the great inventor when he heard the news, but what signs he gave of what he felt are unrecorded. One thing he instantly promised the fair bringer of good tidings —thats he should send the first message over the line which, when completed, would be the first telegraph line in the world, and the promise was kept. The construction was at once begun. At first it was attempted to lay the wires underground according to a plan devised by a bright young man, who was engaged to work in the erection of the line at a salary of $1,000 a year, a young man whose early labor in this introduction of the means for the transmission of intelligence was at a later day crowned by his noble munificence for the diffusion of knowledge. His name was Ezra Cornell of Ithaca, New York.

It was found impracticable to put the wires underground within the limits of the appropriation, and they were strung on poles. By May, 1844, all was completed, and the line was to be opened. The Washington end of the wire was carried into the old Supreme Court room, situated just below the former Senate Chamber, where the Court now sits, and in the midst of a distinguished company, Mr. Morse took his seat at the instrument. Mr. Vail, his partner, was the operator at the Baltimore end of the line.

Miss Elsworth was ready with the message; she and her mother had selected the ending of the 23rd verse of the 23rd chapter of Numbers, "What hath God wrought," and the devout rhapsody of the prophet of old was the first message ever borne between men by that messenger, swifter than the viewless couriers of the air—nature's most mysterious force then first impressed for the service by human patience and human genius. Instantly the message was repeated back, but those present could scarcely believe their senses, and devised all sorts of inquiries to see if the replies really came from Baltimore, forty miles away. All doubts, however, were soon dispelled. The Democratic National Convention met in Baltimore two days afterwards, May 26th, 1844, and nominated Mr. Polk for president, and Silas Wright, then in Washington, for vice president. Mr. Wright's declination was telegraphed back and reached the Convention in a few minutes after he had received the news of his nomination; and during the Convention hourly bulletins of the proceedings were posted in Washington, so that the miracle of the telegraph became a manifest fact in the eyes of all.

The line was not open for pay service until the next spring. The charges for messages were one cent for four characters, that is, something more than forty cents for ten words, and it may please the owners of Western Union stock to learn that the receipts of the Washington office for four days shortly after the opening of the line, were 12½ cents for the 5th of the month, for the 7th 60 cents, for the 8th $1.32 cents, which, on the 9th, fell back to $1.04 cents, since which period, however, the receipts have materially increased. Lines were rapidly erected over the country and in Europe. The first submarine cable was laid between Cape Grisnez in France to Dover on August 28th, 1850, and the first message was sent by one of the English party engaged in laying the cable back to his wife, and was the eminently marital one, "home about ten," which it is to be hoped proved a truthful prophesy. And thus it came about that when the century was half completed the whole world could talk together.

The vast extension of the substitution of machinery for hand labor, and the increased productiveness of machinery, within the past fifty years have not been the work of a few but of thousands of inventors. The results in the aggregate, if less picturesque, are not less wonderful than the applications of electricity and steam to the work of transmission and transportation. Consider, for a moment, the enormously increased power of productiveness afforded by modern machinery. Take, for example, the production of yarn. In the days of our great grandmothers an industrious housewife, who gave up the day for it, could within that time, with a common spinning wheel, draw out a thread four miles long. To-day on a spinning frame that does not even have the latest improvements, a woman can take care of, at least, 800 spindles, and within a day's time, spin threads, the aggregate length of which would be over two thousand miles. The modern newspaper is an embodiment of the creative power of modern invention. To make it, the trees—alas, that it should be so—are felled in the forest, the logs severed in the saw mill, transported to the paper mill, ground into pulp in the engine, strained, and cleaned and rolled and pressed into paper, borne in great rolls to the printing rooms, fed at one end of the swift and ponderous presses, and poured out from the other end, as I lately noted in the printing department of one of the New York evening papers, in the shape of newspapers, fully printed, folded and ready for delivery at the rate of four hundred a minute, and for all that, including the expense of collecting the news, the work of the editors, and the setting up of the type, the purchaser is charged two cents, and yet that, with the aid of advertisements, is enough to enable all down the line, from the woodchopper who cut the tree to the stockholder in the paper, to receive remunerative wages for his labor or a fair profit on his investment. It is needless, as it would be endless, to recite the instances in which cheap production has been brought about by the inventions of the century, or even the last quarter of the century, our inquiry relates to the *effect* of the new facilities and means for transportation of all kinds, and for the transmission of thought and the

changes in production wrought by machinery upon some of the aspects of our present condition and modes of life. The direct results of these agencies may be conspicuously seen in the *concentration of population and capital*, the *increase of wealth* and the *growth of democracy*.

When hand labor prevailed, workshops and factories were small. I can remember when a weaver plied his solitary loom in Washington Street in this city. Those who were engaged in the same trade were scattered through the country in the different towns and villages to meet the local demands of separate communities. As machinery doubled and quadrupled, the output of the factory, it grew in size until it became a vast establishment, and as swift and easy transportation enabled it to send its product the world over, the scattered small centres of trade were superseded by a smaller number of great ones. The shoes, for example, that used to be made at the corner shop in the small town, arrived ready made, and more cheaply, from some distant centre of the shoe industry, and so of a thousand other manufactures. The rise of the large establishment was naturally accompanied by the concentration of labor and capital. The scattered workmen were massed about the factories. The capital that had been invested in numerous small concerns, was aggregated in the large ones. The small proprietor became the stockholder in the large corporation. But the process of concentration did not stop here. The establishments into which so many small shops had merged competed with each other, and the weaker ones could not stand the struggle and survive. Competition is the life of trade, as exercise is the life and strength of the human body, but over-competition may bankrupt the competitors and ruin trade, just as over exercise may exhaust the body and ruin the health. In many branches of manufacture only those concerns that had large capital could do business in a sufficiently economical manner to be assured of a profit, or had enough means in reserve to tide over periods of stagnation or depression in the market. The natural result followed: the large concerns combined together or bought out the smaller ones.

The department store arose; the large corporations that we call the trusts, though the name has lost its original meaning, came into existence, the source of so much apprehension and misapprehension; the cause of some genuine hardships, the parent of some real abuses and danger, but, nevertheless, the offspring of purely natural laws, and to be accepted and dealt with as a necessary development of the industrial conditions under which we live. Herbert Spencer has shown, with great elaboration, that the same laws that operate in the physical universe operate in the social world, and that the segregation into masses is a stage in the process of growth so that the tendency to consolidation, illustrated by the modern industrial combination, is only another manifestation of the law that, in the universe of matter, condenses the whirling star mist into the shining planet.

What is the result of this enormously increased power of production, this vast consolidation of industrial forces? Greater wealth, and wealth more widely distributed. Greater wealth not only for the few but for the many. This statement may be challenged, but wherever the test of careful and widely gathered statistics has been made, it has been confirmed. It is not true that the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer. The gigantic operations which prolific production, swift transportation and vast combinations render possible, do indeed afford to those who have the genius to take advantage of them, opportunities of making single fortunes that would suffice for the wealth of a state. but they are not fortunes that fall to the rich, but fortunes that are won by the poor. The Rockefellers, the Goulds, the Sages, the Carnegies, the Huntingtons, the recounting of whose millions reads like a page from the Arabian Nights, were not rich men or rich men's sons made richer, but the sons of the poor made rich by wisely directed labor. They all started at five dollars a week or less, their only capital, industry and brains, and if the opportunities that made them multi-millionaires may not come to all, yet the conditions that made their great wealth possible, multiply the opportunities for thrift and industry, every-

where, to win a reward at least commensurate with the capacity by which they are directed.

The exports from this country for the last few years not only of agricultural and mining products, but of manufactured goods, have been gradually increasing, until during the eight months preceding the first of April last, the exports of manufactures alone amounted to a million dollars a day, or two hundred and seven millions in the aggregate, being nearly forty millions in excess of imports. This vast output was only rendered possible by our present mechanical agencies for production and transportation, and by the great combinations that are able to employ those agencies economically and efficiently.

Where do the resulting millions go? Part of it in dividends to stockholders, from whose hands the money passes to tradesmen, to employees, is put in new investments, is started in a hundred channels by which it finds its way into a thousand hands. Part of it goes to the railroads, to the companies that made the reapers and mowers, to the operators and storekeepers, who bought of the farmers, to the elevator companies that handled the grain, to the mining companies that sank the shafts, and so, through a myriad of winding ways the greater part comes finally into the hands of labor, and goes to pay the wages and salaries of those who work, while a residum that is laid by and invested is added to the permanent wealth of the country. Some of the proceeds of our vast exports for the past twelve months, if traced back, would be found on the credit side of more than one depositor's passbook in the Utica Savings Bank.

Not, therefore, to the few, to the exclusion of the many comes the increase of wealth which is the offspring of modern invention. It enriches the whole people, as the rain which pours in showers over the land may go in part to swell the streams, or raise the great rivers, yet the larger part sinks into the broad bosom of the earth, there to nourish not only the stately trees, but the shrubs and plants and lowlier growths that altogether make up the boundless and beautiful wealth of nature.

Inequalities there will always be. Men are born free and equal in regard to fundamental political rights, but they are born most unequal in strength, in intellect, in character. There is not perfect equality in opportunity. Time and chance still come to all. The virtues and the vices, the strength and the weaknesses of human character still produce their natural results for good or for evil; but when all is said, never before in the world's history was there so much to be won and so many ways open to win it, as at this close of our marvellous century. Never were incentives to effort greater; never were the rewards of effort—wisely directed, patiently and steadfastly pursued—so many or so certain.

And finally, the most striking result of the modern inventions we have been considering is the growth of democracy.

With the world open to traffic and travel, with the way to wealth free to all, with intelligence universally and swiftly diffused, thereby lending public opinion an irresistible force, class distinctions founded on privilege disappear. Arbitrary power cannot exist among a people that travel at will, correspond by telegraph, talk by telephone, read the newspapers, trade with the world and own the wealth that they create.

Birth, in a society such as ours, confers no monopoly of place or power. No royal charter to a few can bar the way of others. Competition is free to all, and, in the struggle, there is but one power that can win success—the power of brains and character; there is but one patent of nobility, the unbought and willing reverence rendered to a noble life.

But the breaking down of old barriers, the destruction of exclusiveness, the great throng of humanity pouring through all the arteries of business and social life, cause some to shrink back and awaken fears and forebodings. The fastidious recoil from the vulgarity of democratic life. To them it is almost wholly made up of impossible people. The ocean steamers, they will say, are chiefly employed in carrying thousands of their fellow citizens to Europe, who are utterly unable to appreciate its treasures of

art, or feel the thrill of its associations. Ouida has, lately, in a vigorous essay, expressed her aversion to the great plebean class of her fellow-countrymen, and a like sentiment, every now and then, may be detected in our current literature. The student or man of letters is apt to lament the superficiality of our knowledge and the decadence of our taste. They point out that the universal reading of newspapers has destroyed the power of continuous attention, and the mass of matters of interest presented to the mind has become so great that it refuses to receive them, and becomes weary, like the brain of one exploring a picture gallery so vast that, at last, bewildered by the multitude of canvases, not even a master-piece of all the ages can win the tribute of a look from the tired eyes. They tell us that the vaudeville has driven Shakespeare from the stage, and the flood of novels has submerged the wells of English undefiled that flow in the classics of our noble literature. The man of high ideals and the cynic alike shrink from our politics and proclaim that leadership has degenerated into ignoble dictatorship, and patriotism is slowly yielding to commercialism.

These are the usual counts of the indictment brought against the society that the conditions produced by modern inventions have developed. Look deeper and the indictment falls.

True it is that the education of a people is a gradual process. It is never finished, and its terms are centuries. We cannot expect in a population having widely diverse elements undergoing the process of assimilation—a population under the strain of constant and intense activity, where work is urgent and leisure scanty, all the humanities as well as the cardinal virtues. We hold fast to these last, and the rest will follow—are following. No soil under heaven is so favorable to the growth of higher education, of true culture, of real refinement, as the vigorous life-giving soil of democracy. There is not a college or university among us, from Harvard to California, that is not a standing monument of the appreciation of the people of this country of the value of the studies and pursuits that expand the mind and

ennoble the soul—the liberal studies which, as Cicero said, ornament prosperity, console adversity, are with us in the turmoil of the city, follow us to the country, unite us with the brotherhood of letters. Nowhere else in the world does wealth pay the tribute to learning which it pays in our own land. Nowhere else have the intelligent needs of woman been met as they have been met with us. And, as a consequence, nowhere does she hold quite the place she holds here, where she receives not only the mere homage paid to a tournament queen, nature's tribute to loveliness and beauty, but the profounder homage paid to the one who stands side by side with us in the graver affairs of life, the guardian of the home, the pillar of the state.

If the vaudeville is crowded it is because the brain under such pressure as modern conditions impose, needs, for relaxation pure amusement, and not stimulus; but, for all that, let Shakespeare be well performed to-day, and the poet is greeted by an audience more appreciative than any that ever filled the Globe to laugh at Will Tarleton in comedy, or applaud Dick Burbage in Lear. If we greatly read the newspapers they may indeed induce a habit of mental roving, but no man with serious intellectual work before him ever lost his staying power by reason of the newspaper, and to no other source do we owe so much in the formation of the best written English style of the present epoch as to the clear, incisive, lucid editorials, and the picturesque and vivid description to be found in the leading representatives of the daily press.

And, as to our politics, let him who fears sit down and read our nation's history, and then look around him and reflect. What will he learn? That, in their political relations, a free people, like every human society, is composed of good and evil, of wise and foolish. The battle between the right and the wrong goes on among them, as it has gone on since civilization began. But, with this great advantage on the side of the right. A majority of a people free to act as it chooses may go wrong by mistake, it will not go wrong from intentional choice of evil. Ignorance or false reasoning may mislead it, but not viciousness. It has a

conscience, and it obeys it. And, therefore, the safe-guard is that if a mistake has been made, and mistakes must be made, as time sooner or later clearly discovers it, it is corrected, and so sometimes halting, sometimes slipping, sometimes missing the path we, nevertheless, slowly go forward, with an assured advance, towards greater strength, greater stability, a better government.

We are on the eve of that momentous event—the choice of a chief magistrate of the nation. The facilities that man's ingenuity have furnished bring home the discussion of the questions upon which the choice depends to every dwelling and person in the land? What is the result? A profound conviction, whatever may be our personal beliefs, that that decision will be right—but a still profounder conviction that, even should it be wrong, the error thus committed and sure to be disclosed by its consequences, would be equally sure to be, in time, corrected.

No—as the curtain falls on the century that has past, and rises on the century to come, there is no room for fear. The daring hand of the inventor may wield fresh weapons for the race, and summon even more potent spirits from the vastly deep of nature to do man's bidding. There is no place in our faith for dread of the consequences, as in the old Norse mythology a dark fate hung over the heroes lest they should grow stronger than the gods themselves, but, on the contrary, we welcome the knowledge that it is power. Greater strength brings greater goodness. The rays of science slant upwards; they never light a downward path. The invention that saves the labor of the hands leaves time for the nobler work of the brain. The discovery that enlarges the horizon of knowledge enlarges humanity as well. And, as we stop to survey the prospect before us, from the height to which the nineteenth century has brought us, we see a still fairer land than that around us, a grander world than any we have known, and we take up our onward journey with a deeper faith than ever that it is a wisdom greater than man's that is guiding us to a surer happiness and a more perfect life.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By Hon. Thomas L. James.

President Coxe said: The subject of the address this evening is "Abraham Lincoln." The speaker is an old Utica boy, who needs no introduction, Hon. Thomas L. James of New York.

Mr. James was received with hearty applause. He said in part:

I was startled this morning when I opened the great fireside journal and read the correspondence between the letter carriers and the eminent jurist here to-night. It came to my mind that to-day is the anniversary of Appomattox. It recalled the fact that when the illustrious statesman Senator Conkling presented the name of Grant to the Chicago convention, he began with the words:

If asked what state he hails from,
Our sole response would be,
He come from Appomattox
And its famous apple tree!

The speaker stated that while he was postmaster at New York he received through President Grant an application from a German who wished to be a letter carrier and who wrote: "You will recollect me, as I was in your guard at Petersburg." Gen. Grant wrote: "I would like very much if you could find a place for this old soldier." A place was found for him immediately, and he proved a most faithful and efficient servant for the government for many years.

When I accepted your courteous invitation I fully intended to address you on the Utica of fifty years ago. It would have been a labor of love to have reviewed the past and recalled the clergymen, the statesmen, the jurists, the doctors, the journalists and the business men of the Central City whose names are

now immortal and of whom you are justly proud. But my time has been so fully occupied, I have been unable to prepare the address, and I have therefore been compelled to fall back on an old tale, written some years ago, which, I trust, may be of some interest to you. I am about to speak of Abraham Lincoln, who, though born in adversity, cradled in poverty and handicapped by adverse surroundings, became by rare force of character, integrity and genius, the bright consummate flower of our Christian civilization, one of the grandest characters of all history, and is to-day the most prominent figure, save Washington, of our national life. For those who have lived, doing great things for humanity, and being dead, have left a glorious heritage to the world, are ever of fresh interest and of splendid inspiration to those who give thought to their achievements and their character. Mr. Lincoln was one of these. A generation has passed since the country was bereaved by his untimely and bloody death; and yet there is fascination to-day in the story of his career, the study of his character, and the analysis of his qualities; and those anecdotes which are told illustrating the man, have the charm of delightful romance and are read with greater interest than the most brilliant tales of the writers of fiction.

The speaker briefly outlined some of the qualities of Lincoln, and gave an interesting account of his first address at Cooper Union, New York. He said: When he had finished that masterly address pre-eminent in its ability, cool and remorseless in its logic, conciliatory and tender in its suggestions, no feeling of curiosity mastered that great throng, but one of profound respect and admiration, so that they asked one another: "What manner of man is this lawyer of the West, who has set forth these truths as we have never yet heard them before?" That address disclosed his ability to grasp opinion as it was asserting itself among the masses of the people, and to make such perfect presentation of it as caused him to be regarded not as a follower of opinion, but as the creator and leader of it. There are those who mistake their own obstinacy, deeming it but the conviction of the public; there are those who believe that in a

republic like ours, leadership forces public opinion and does not follow it; and political graveyards are filled with buried ambitions and crushed hopes because of that mistake which Mr. Lincoln never made.

He had extraordinary courage; but it was not the courage of brute obstinacy or insensibility. He had the courage to call a Democrat to his cabinet because he perceived that that man possessed those unusual qualifications which were imperative for a successful conduct of the war department, and he knew that behind Mr. Stanton's failings of temperament there was an absorbing love of his country and an honesty of character such as few men possess. With Stanton he could be firm and courageous, yielding often in trifles but masterful when there was need of it. Said Stanton to him one day: "Mr. President, I can not carry out that order. It is improper, and I don't believe it is right." And speaking very gently Mr. Lincoln said: "Well, I reckon, Mr. Secretary, that you will have to carry it out." "But I won't do it Mr. President, it's all wrong." "I guess you will have to do it, Mr. Secretary," and it was done. (Applause).

In the quality of tact, Mr. Lincoln was excelled by no other man who ever held high public office in this country. Van Buren was tactful, but too transparently so to secure best results. Lincoln's tact was so subtle and masterful that it seldom was perceived and never realized until its purpose had been accomplished. He was waiting for public opinion to become preeminent before he indicated his policy with respect to the slaves. He waited for a year; and when he perceived that public opinion would sustain him, then he, seeming to lead it, issued his emancipation proclamation. Statesmen have said that he was in error when he suggested in the closing months of his first administration that Congress could afford to appropriate money to recompense the men of the South for the loss of their property, if by such appropriation the war could be brought to a close. But in these latter days we are not so sure that Mr. Lin-

coln's view had not more of wisdom in it than did that of those in Congress who opposed him.

Perhaps the highest evidence of Lincoln's supreme greatness was the fact that he was a master of men. That was made possible by reason of his clear, although perhaps intuitive, understanding of the profound philosophy to say nothing now of the morality of the principles set forth in the gospels. His magnanimity was constantly displayed in a manner convincingly made clear in his utter freedom from the petty vices of jealousy and selfishness. He revealed it in the selection of his cabinet.

The speaker related a number of anecdotes showing Lincoln's sympathy, as told by Col. Charles H. Page. On one occasion he met a lame soldier in Washington and, taking his arm, walked with him toward the White House, where the two were engaged in earnest conversation for ten minutes. When they parted Mr. Lincoln said: "Well, good-bye, my boy; go home to your mother, and may God bless you."

A young girl had enlisted as a boy in an Indian regiment and had served more than a year, when she was severely wounded at Fredericksburg and her sex was discovered. After she was discharged from the hospital she was denied further service in the ranks under the rules, and she had long tried in vain to get the four months' pay due her. At last she appealed to the President. After patiently listening to her story the President asked: "My child, how come you to enlist?" The reply was: "Oh, Mr. President, I wanted to do something for my country." Mr. Lincoln looked at the wounded girl for a moment, his eyes moistening the while, and then he wrote and handed her the following note:

"C. P. Andrews, paymaster general: Examine the rolls and ascertain whether this girl is entitled to four months' pay as a soldier. If she is, pay her at once and do not send her from one paymaster to another. If there is no law to justify you, I will indemnify you. A. Lincoln." It is needless to say that this order was honored. (Applause).

It is now more than thirty years since Abraham Lincoln issued his emancipation proclamation, thus making slaves freemen and enfranchising a race. Mr. Lincoln did his part, and it now remains for his countrymen to do theirs. It is a sad fact that the condition of the colored race has not in all respects improved since their enfranchisement. In antebellum times a well ordered plantation was a sort of industrial school, where the slaves were taught to be carpenters, wheelwrights, blacksmiths and farmers; but since attaining their freedom too many of them have assumed that liberty was license, and that it meant idleness and vice. The only way to redeem and regenerate this people and thus complete Mr. Lincoln's work and make them in the full sense American citizens, is to give them industrial education, to teach them the trades and urge upon them the necessity of becoming land owners. With the possession of homes of their own, the economic, social, political and religious problems will be solved. Unless the colored race is elevated so that it can not only enjoy to the full the opportunities that freedom brought to it, but also bear its share of the responsibilities of citizenship, the time is coming, it may be in the near future, when its relation to our American system will be the most grievous of all problems. The question of the hour which we can not neglect, is to finish this great work which Abraham Lincoln began.

There has been, I sometimes think, too much criticism of the white people of the South, first for slavery and second for what seems to be the unhappy condition of the colored people. But slavery was a heritage to this people for which they were not responsible; and whatever responsibility may be placed on any section belongs equally to Massachusetts, whose slave ships with those of England brought the captives from Africa to southern soil. While it is true that the tendency in the South is to limit the political privileges of the colored man, on the other hand my own experience has taught me that his civil and property rights are as faithfully observed throughout the South as are those of the white man; and it is in this that I see the happy settlement

of the colored problem. If these men will learn industry, the trades, the arts, and will set themselves to acquiring property, in which they will be perfectly protected by the courts of the southern states, they will work out their own salvation; for with the acquisition of property comes a sense of responsibility. I have great faith in the influence and the ultimate effect of them, that are being developed in the school at Tuskegee, Ala., under the principalship of Booker T. Washington; and his instruction and theories are in entire accord with these suggestions I have just made.

It is given not to many men in a century or even in a cycle, to have such opportunity and such capacity for asserting it as was Abraham Lincoln's; but it is given to all Americans to learn of his integrity, his consuming love of his country, his loyalty to its laws, his recognition of his obligations as a citizen, and tenderness for the weak, his courage in maintaining the right, his faith in principles and his respect for men of honor who did not agree with him on matters of policy; so that American citizenship may be broadened and there be new impulses and inspirations for each one to do his part in the maintenance of the nation which it was Mr. Lincoln's lot to preserve, freed from the blot of slavery.

YEAR BOOK

No. 10

OF THE

Oneida Historical Society

AT UTICA, N. Y.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1905

Munsell-Williams Memorial

Munson-Williams Memorial
THE HOME OF
The Oneida Historical Society
AT UTICA

YEAR BOOK

NO. 10

OF THE

Oneida Historical Society,

AT UTICA, N. Y.,

1905.

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Mission of the Oneida Historical Society.

It is the mission of this Society to cover in its collections and researches the entire territory embraced in the original civil division of Central New York—the County of Tryon, erected in 1772, rechristened Montgomery in honor of Gen. Montgomery, and in contempt of a royal governor in 1784; divided in 1791 into the Counties of Montgomery, Otsego, Tioga, Ontario and Herkimer, Oneida County being erected out of the latter in 1798. It is a wide field, for the boundaries of Tryon County included all the territory lying west of a line running nearly north and south through the present County of Schoharie. All the State of New York west of that line is our particular field; but we go beyond this, and exchange publications with many kindred societies in the United States and Europe. The County of Tryon included the hunting grounds of the Five Nations of Iroquois, who were the owners of this soil before our fathers possessed themselves of it, and whose civil and military achievements form a glorious chapter in the aboriginal history of America. We are the centre of the famous "long house" within fifty miles of the spot where the council fires were held, and so directly in the home of the Oneida tribe of Iroquois—the only one of the original Five Nations which stood by the colonists in their struggle for independence—that Utica is the custodian of its "Sacred Stone." In many ways the original Tryon County is peculiarly interesting, in a historical point of view. Here lived, labored and died, Sir William Johnson, in many respects the most prominent figure in the colonial annals of America. Here also lived his sons and their ally, Joseph Brandt, who made the Mohawk Valley forever memorable as the scene of the fiercest and most relentless Indian and Tory massacres. Hither migrated the chief segment of the exiled Palatinates; and the story of their pioneer battles with the wilderness, their revolutionary patriotism under circumstances the most perilous that tested the nerves of any colonists, with the later record of their remarkable assimilation with the American race—a story never yet fully written out—offers inspiration for song, romance and history. Here, also, were the frontier and defensive forts and castles of the French, the Indians and the English, as well as the colonists—Fort Bull, Fort Plain, Fort House, Fort Hill, Fort Hunter, Fort Dayton, Fort Schuyler, Fort Stanwix, Fort Oswego, and Fort Brewerton. Here passed and repassed along the water-courses, over the Indian fords and through the trackless forests, the military expeditions of French and English, until the

prowess of the latter at length determined that the English race and civilization should predominate upon the continent. Here were fought the battles of Oriskany and Saratoga, upon whose fields the war for Independence ceased to be a rebellion and became a revolution. Here the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company made the first attempt at artificial water navigation in America, an attempt which soon developed into the Erie Canal, upon whose waters the commerce of a continent traverses from the lakes to the Atlantic. Here was the scene of the romantic adventure and the untold fate of the Castorland Company, and here is the grave and monument of the brave Baron Steuben. Here was tested one of the first railroads ever built. Here was organized the first express company. Here the telegraph was put to its first practical utility. Here were erected the first cotton factory and the first woolen factory chartered by the State of New York, and here has been the home of more than a due proportion of the statesmen whose life-work is a part of the history of New York and the Nation.

The Oneida Historical Society is the proper custodion of the documents, manuscripts, relics and memorials, of every kind and description, which relate to and illustrate this remarkable history. And it remains for us to faithfully gather and preserve the valuable materials of local history that still remain scattered, and are fast disappearing.

The Oneida Historical Society has in no way done more to preserve and keep alive our local history, than by the monuments which it has helped to erect. The beginnings of our city are defined and perpetuated by the memorial of old Fort Schuyler. The settlement of the country is forever traced back to its pioneer by the monument to Hugh White in the town which bears his name. The towering column at Oriskany teaches for all the strategic and commercial relations of the valley of the Mohawk to the continent, while it gives immortality to the yeomen who withstood the armed hosts of invasion. For these this Society may claim its share of credit. The monument to Baron Steuben, due in large part to the thoughtfulness of our German fellow-citizens, at all its stages had the favor of our distinguished president, the late Gov. Horatio Seymour, whose eloquence crowned its dedication. He also contributed to the memorial to that early soldier—the soldier of the cross—Samuel Kirkland, missionary, leader in education in Central New York, and efficient patriot, by whose grave the hill-side above Oriskany Creek is made ever consecrated ground.

Regular monthly meetings of the Society are held on the second Monday of each month.

Publications of the Society.

1. Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Oriskany: 1877. Address by Hon. Ellis H. Roberts.
2. Historical Fallacies Regarding Colonial New York. Douglass Campbell. Annual Address: 1879.
3. The Men, Events, Lawyers, Politics and Politicians of Early Rome. Hon D. E. Wager: 1879.
4. Articles of Incorporation, Constitution, By-Laws, Officers, Members and Donors of the Society, and Proceedings of Annual Meeting: 1879.
5. Early History of Oneida County. William Tracy. Annual Address: 1880.
6. Transactions (1) of the Oneida Historical Society, with Annual Address and Reports for 1881, Paris Re-Interment and Papers read before the Society from 1878 to 1881.
7. Semi-Centennial of the City of Utica, and Supper of Half-Century Club: 1882.
8. A Long Lost Point in History. L. W. Ledyard. Annual Address: 1883.
9. Col. John Brown. Rev. G. L. Roof, D. D.: 1884.
10. Transactions (2) of the Oneida Historical Society, 1881 to 1884, containing Whitestown Centennial, Whitesboro's Golden Age; Wagner Re-Interment; Old Fort Schuyler Celebration; and Dedication of the Oriskany Monument: 1885.
11. Transactions (3) of the Oneida Historical Society, 1885-1886, containing Early Protestant Missions among the Iroquois; The Streets of Utica; The Utica Water Works; Forts Stanwix and Bull and other Forts at Rome; Memorial of S. Wells Williams; The Utica High School; List of the Birds of Oneida County: 1886.
12. Amended Constitution and By-Laws and Catalogue of Members of the Oneida Historical Society: 1887.
13. The Historic Difference of English and Continental Civilization. Rev. Dr. William T. Gibson, LL. D.; 1888.
14. Transactions (4) of the Oneida Historical Society, 1887-1889, containing the New Hartford Centennial; Is Local History worth Studying? Geology of Oneida County; The New York Iroquois; The Bleecker Street Church; Ancient Utica; and Botany and Botanists of this vicinity.
15. Catalogue of the Library of the Oneida Historical Society, Manuscripts, Maps, &c.: 1890.

16. Col. Marinus Willet. Hon. Daniel E. Wager: 1891.
17. Transactions (5) of the Oneida Historical Society, 1890-1892, containing Geographical names as monuments of History; Gen. John A. Dix; Iroquois and Colony of New York; Early Welsh Settlers of Oneida County; Fairfield Medical College; Chapter in Glacial History; Silas Wright. Pre-Historic Remains in Sweden; Sangerfield; Laying of Historical Stone of Utica Y. M. C. A. Association; John F. Seymour; Constitution and By-Laws, Officers, Members, Publications and Addresses Oneida Historical Society: 1892.
18. Transactions (6) of the Oneida Historical Society, 1892-94, containing The Dutch Our Allies in the Revolution; The Unresponsive Roll Call at Tattoo; Watauga and Franklin; Two Episodes in Early United States History; The City in the Roman Constitution; The Madog Tradition; The Mystery of the Muller Mansion; Reminiscences of the Utica Literary Club, and its earliest members; The New York Indians: 1894.
19. Transactions (7) of the Oneida Historical Society, Ceremonies Connected with the Dedication of "Munson-Williams Memorial," the Home of the Oneida Historical Society.
20. Transactions (8) of the Oneida Historical Society. The Mohawk Indians. An Inquiry into their Origin, Migration and Influence upon the White Settlers, by S. L. Frey.
21. Transactions (9) of the Oneida Historical Society.
22. Dedication of the Seymour Memorial. George L. Miller.
23. The Federal Era in American History. Rev. E. P. Powell.
24. New England in New York. Hon. Stephen Holden.
25. Political and Social Life in Washington during the Administration of President Monroe. Robert J. Hubbard.
26 The Philippine Problem in the Light of American International Policy. Prof. E. W. Huffcut.
27. The Migration of Trade Centers. Dr. Robert E. Jones.
28. Recollections of Lincoln and Grant. Gen. James Grant Wilson.
29. The Social and Political Influence of Some Inventions of the 19th Century. Edmund Wetmore.
30. Abraham Lincoln. Hon. Thomas L. James.
31. The Genius of Anglo-Saxon Law. Rev. W. T. Gibson, D. D. LL. D.
32. The Mohawk Valley a Channel of Civilization. Rev. A. L. Byron-Curtiss.
33. "Colonization and Civil Government in the Tropics." Samuel L. Parish.
34. Recollections of the Oneida Bar. Henry J. Cookinham. Appendix Life Sketches.
35. McKinley and the Spanish War. Gen. Stewart L. Woodford, former Minister to Spain.

Addresses and Papers Read before the Society.

1. 1878. October 29—The Genealogy of a Utica Newspaper. Alexander Seward.
2. November 26—The History of Journalism in Rome. Hon. D. E. Wager.
3. December 10—The Needs and Purposes of the Oneida Historical Society. S. N. D. North.
4. December 17—The History of the Title to the Oriskany Battle Field. Alexander Seward.
5. December 31—The Telegraph and Associated Press. Alexander Seward.
6. 1879. January 14—Historical Fallacies Regarding Colonial New York. Douglass Campbell.
7. January 28—The Men, Events, Lawyers, Politics and Politicians of Early Rome. Hon. D. E. Wager.
8. February 25—The Herkimer Family Papers. Matthew D. Bagg.
9. May 6—The Castorland Colony. Dr. Franklin B. Hough.
10. July 29—The Earliest Factories of Oneida, and their Projectors. Dr. M. M. Bagg.
11. September 23—Johannes Rueff, the Pioneer Settler at Fort Stanwix, N. Y. Rev. Dr. F. H. Roof.
12. November 11—(1st) Description and Analysis of the Massachusetts MSS. in the State Library relating to the removal of the Seneca Indians in 1838. (2d) The Pompey Stone, with Inscription and Date of 1520. Henry A. Homes.
14. December 23—The Civil, Moral, and Social Condition of the people of England at the commencement of the reign of George III. Daniel Batchelor.
15. 1880. January 13—Incidents Connected with the Early History of Oneida County. Annual Address. Hon William Tracy.
16. February 17—A glance at the First Volunteers from Central New York, in the early days of the War of the Rebellion. Gen. Wm. H. Christian.

[NOTE.—The Oneida Historical Society has not published all of the addresses delivered before it, for the reason that some of the manuscripts have not been left with the Society by the authors, while others have not been considered appropriate for publication.]

May 11—The Palatines, and their settlement in the Upper Mohawk Valley. Hon. Samuel Earl.

July 13—The Syracuse and Utica Railroad. Hon. Daniel E. Wager.

November 9—Andrew A. Bartow and the Discovery of Water Lime in this Country. Hon. Samuel Earl.

December 21—The Continental Congress: Some of its actors and their doings with the results thereof. Annual Address. Hon. William J. Bacon.

1881. March 2—Letters of Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchell, 1804, relative to the Louisiana Purchase, with Biographical Sketch of Dr. Mitchell. Morven M. Jones.

April 6—Biographical Sketch of Dr. Matthew Brown, of Rome, afterwards of Rochester, N. Y. Dr. M. M. Bagg.

May 31—The Early History of the Mohawk Valley. Rev. Geo. A. Lintner, D. D. Read by C. W. Hutchinson.

December 7—The Golden Age of Whitesboro. Hon. D. E. Wager.

1882. January 10—Historical Sketch of the New York Historical Society. Annual Address. Dr. M. M. Bagg.

February to May—Golden Age of Whitesboro. D. E. Wager.

1883. January 9—A Long Lost Point in History. Annual Address. L. W. Ledyard.

April 10—Extracts from the Journal of a First Sandwich Island Missionary. Mrs. Maria S. Loomis. Read by A. Seward.

May 8—Political Poem. John H. Lothrop. Read by Dr. M. M. Bagg.

June 5—Antiquities of Onondaga. Rev. W. M. Beauchamp.

September 11—Eulogy on George P. Marsh. Rev. Dr. S. G. Brown.

October 9—Familiar Talk About Mexico. Dr. E. Hutchinson.

November 13—The Streets of Utica. L. M. Taylor.

December 11—Cannibalism. General C. W. Darling.

1884. January 15—Social System of our New York Indians. Annual Address. Rev. Dr. Charles Hawley.

February 12—Ancient Utica. Prof. George C. Sawyer.

March 31—Memorial of S. Wells Williams. T. W. Seward.

Extracts from Military Journal of Col. Frederick Visscher. S. G. Visscher.

April 28—Col. John Brown. Rev. Dr. G. L. Roof.

November 24—Fort Stanwix and other Forts at Rome. Hon. D. E. Wager.

41. 1885. January 13—The Greek idea of the State. Annual Address. Prof. Edward North.
42. March 30—The Gazeteers of New York. S. N. D. North.
43. September 28—The manuscripts of His Excellency Daniel D. Tompkins, which have recently come into possession of the State Library. Henry A. Homes.
44. October 26—Lecture on Iceland. Rev. T. R. G. Peck.
45. 1886. January 12—Early Protestant Missions among the Iroquois. Annual Address. Prof. A. G. Hopkins.
46. January 25—The Utica Water Works. Thomas Hopper.
47. February 22—The principal works on the Botany of this Vicinity. Dr. Joseph B. Haberer.
48. March 29—Origin and Early Life of the New York Iroquois. Rev. W. M. Beauchamp.
49. April 26—List of the Birds of Oneida County, N. Y., and of its immediate vicinity. Egbert Bagg.
50. May 31—Prehistoric Remains in Sweden, translated from the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society of Sweden. Thos. R. Colling.
51. September 21—Sangerfield, N. Y., Its Development and Its Industries. Hon. Amos O. Osborn.
52. November 29—Prehistoric remains in Sweden, (continued). Thos. R. Colling.
53. 1887. January 11—Is Local History Worth Studying? Annual Address. Prof. Francis M. Burdick.
54. March 28—Recollections of Joseph Bonaparte. S. L. Frey. Were Shikellimy and Logan, Oneidas? Rev. W. M. Beauchamp.
55. April 25—Reminiscences of the Early History of Oneida County. Col. J. T. Watson.
56. May 30—The Bleecker Street Church. Thomas W. Seward.
57. September 26—Gen. Oliver Collins. Charles D. Adams.
58. October 31—Visit to Gibraltar and Tangier. Rev. T. R. G. Peck.
59. December 19—Rev. Beriah Green. Dr. Smith Baker.
60. 1888. January 10—The Value of Local Historical Research. Annual Address. Prof. Oren Root.
61. January 20—Early methods of travel in the Mohawk Valley and Central New York. Prof. A. G. Hopkins.
62. March 26—The Historic Difference of English and Continental Civilization. Rev. Dr. W. T. Gibson.
63. April 30—Reminiscences of New Hartford. Henry Hurlburt.
64. May 28—Geology of Oneida County. Rev. A. P. Brigham.
65. September 24—Earlier Poets of Utica. Dr. M. M. Bagg.

66. December 3—Early Welsh Settlers of Oneida County. Rev. Erasmus W. Jones.

67. December 17—The Insurrection and Conquest of the Tuscarora Indians. Col. Edward Cantwell.

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181. April 12—Life and Work of Gerrit Smith. Hon. A. Judd Northrup.

BATTLE FLAGS.

REMNANT OF GEN. GRANT'S HEADQUARTERS FLAG.

Presented by Thomas R. Proctor, of Utica, N. Y., and which floated over

		Prisoners.
1862.	Fort Donelson, Tenn.	15,000
1863.	Vicksburg, Miss.	31,000
1863.	Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge	9,000
1865.	Petersburg and Pursuit	20,000
1865.	April 9, Appomattox	27,000

Carried and Taken by the Oneida County Regiments during the War of the Rebellion. Now in the custody of the Oneida Historical Society.

HEADQUARTERS FLAG OF THE 5TH ARMY CORPS.

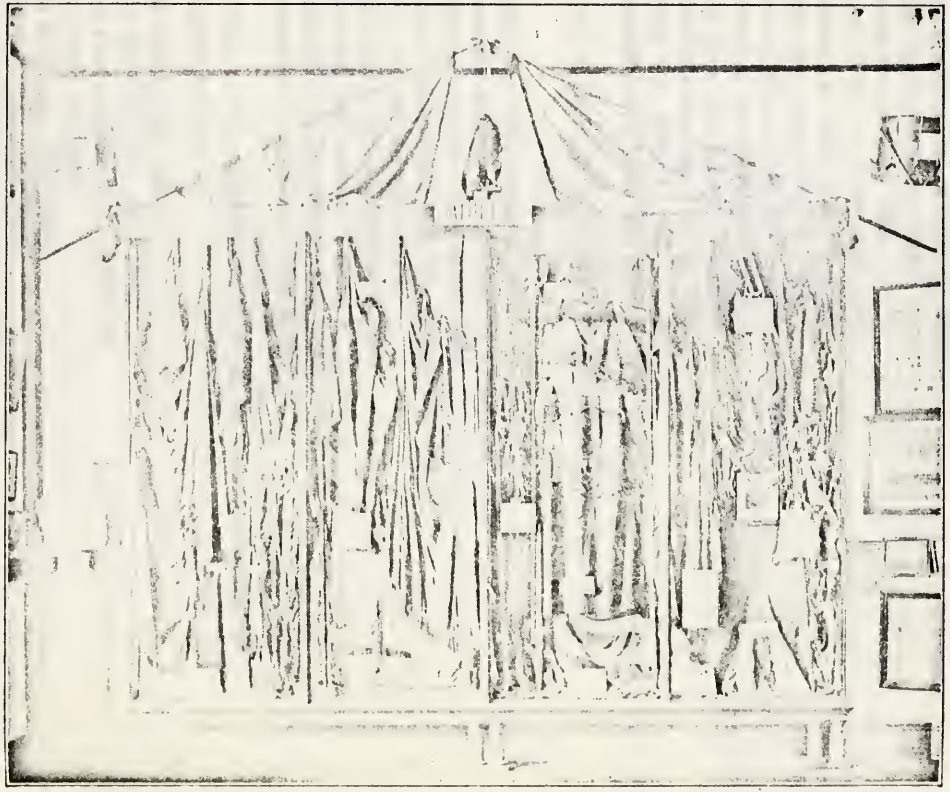
HEADQUARTERS FLAG OF GEN. McQUADE, 2D BRIGADE, 1ST DIVISION, 5TH ARMY CORPS.

PALMETTO REBEL FLAG, CAPTURED BY THE 14TH REGIMENT AT MALVERN HILL, VA., JULY 1, 1862.

TWO FLAGS OF THE 14TH REGIMENT, N. Y. S. V., WHICH WERE CARRIED IN THE BATTLES OF:—

Hall's Hill, Va., September, 1861.
Howard's Mills, Va., April, 1862.
Siege of Yorktown, Va., April and May, 1862.
New Bridge, May, 1862
Hanover Court House, Va., May 27th, 1862.
Mechanicsville, Va., June 26th, 1862.
Gaines' Mills, Va., June 27th, 1862.
Malvern Hill, Va., July 1, 1862.
Second Bull Run, Va., August 30th, 1862.
Shepherdstown, Va., October 2d, 1862.
Fredericksburg, Va., December 13th, 1862.
Chancellorsville, Va., May 1, 2 and 3, 1863.

REBEL SIGNAL FLAG, TAKEN FROM THE HANDS OF A CONFEDERATE AT FORT FISHER, N. C., JANUARY 15, 1865, BY E. S. FOSKETT, CORPORAL CO. B, 117TH N. Y. V.



SIX FLAGS OF THE 2D N. Y. HEAVY ARTILLERY VOLUNTEERS, WERE CARRIED IN THE BATTLES OF:—

Manassas Junction, Va., August 17, 1862.
Spottsylvania, Va., May 19, 1864.
North Anna, Va., May 23, 1864.
Tolopotomy Creek, Va., May 30th, 1864.
Cold Harbor, Va., June 3 to 12, 1864.
Petersburg, Va., June 15 to 17, 1864.
Deep Bottom, Va., July 26 and August 14-18, 1864.
Reams Station, Va., August 26, 1864.
Hatcher's Run, Va., October 28, 1864.
Sunderland Station, Va., April 2, 1865.
Dentonville, Va., April 6, 1865.
Appomattox Court House, Va., April 9, 1865.

FLAG OF THE 26TH N. Y. S. V., WAS CARRIED IN THE BATTLES OF:—

Cedar Mountain, Va., August 9, 1862.
Rappahannock Station, Va., August 20, 21 and 22, 1862.
Thoroughfare Gap, Va., August 28, 1862.
Groveton, or Second Bull Run, Va., August 30, 1862.
Chantilly, Va., September 1, 1862.
South Mountain, Md., September 14, 1862.
Antietam, Md., September 17, 1862.
Fredericksburg, Va., December 13th, 1862.
Chancellorsville, Va., May 2. 3 and 4, 1863.

FLAG OF THE 117TH REGIMENT, N. Y. S. V., WAS CARRIED IN THE BATTLES OF:—

Siege of Suffolk, Va., 1863.
Hanover Junction, Va., July, 1863.
Siege of Fort Wagner, S. C., 1863-1864.
Swift's Creek, Va., 1864.
Drury's Bluff, Va., May, 1864.
Cold Harbor, Va., June, 1864.
Petersburg Heights, Va., June 15, 1864.
Siege of Petersburg, Va., 71 days in trenches, 1864.
Cemetery Hill, Va., July 30, 1864.
Chapin's Farm, Va., September 29, 1864.
Darbytown Road, Va., October 27, 1864.
Fort Fisher, N. C., January 15, 1865.
Fort Anderson, N. C., February 18 to 22, 1865.

FLAG WHICH WAS RAISED OVER LIBBY PRISON IN RICHMOND AFTER THE EVACUATION OF THAT CITY BY THE CONFEDERATE FORCES.

FLAGS OF THE 97TH REGIMENT, N. Y. S. V., WHICH WERE CARRIED IN THE FOLLOWING BATTLES:—

Cedar Mountain, Rappahannock, Thoroughfare Gap, Second Bull Run, Chantilly, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Mine Run, Raccoon Ford, Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Laurel Hill, North Anna, Bethsaida Church, Tolopotomy, Cold Harbor, White Oak Swamp, Petersburg, Norfolk & Petersburg Railroad, Welden Railroad, Hatcher's Run, Hicksford, Quaker Road, White Oak Road, Five Forks, Appomattox Court House and Lee's Surrender.

FLAG OF THE 146TH REGIMENT, N. Y. S. V., WHICH WAS CARRIED IN THE BATTLES OF:—

Fredericksburg, Va., December 10-12, 1862.
Chancellorsville, Va., May 2 and 3, 1863.
Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 2 and 3, 1863.
Bristow Station, Va., August 27, 1863.
Rappahannock Station, Va., November 7, 1863.
Mine Run, Va., November 26, 1863.
Williamsport, Va.
Wapping Heights, Va.
Wilderness, Va., May 5 and 6, 1864.
Weldon Railroad, Va., May 5, 1864.
Spottsylvania, Va., May 9, 1864.
North Anna, Va., May 23, 1864.
Petersburg, Va., June 16, 1864.
Laurel Hill, Va., July 12, 1864.
Bethesda Church, Va.
Tolopotomy, Va.
Chappel House, Va.
Hicks Ford, Va.
Hatcher's Run, Va., October 27, 1864.
Five Forks, Va., March 31, 1865.
White Oak Road,
Appomattox Court House, Va., April 9, 1865.

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Presented by Thomas R. Proctor, of Utica, N. Y., and which floated over

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1863.	Vicksburg, Miss.	31,000
1863.	Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge	9,000
1865.	Petersburg and Pursuit	20,000
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HEADQUARTERS FLAG OF GEN. McQUADE, 2D BRIGADE, 1ST DIVISION, 5TH ARMY CORPS.

PALMETTO, REBEL FLAG, CAPTURED BY THE 14TH REGIMENT AT MALVERN HILL, VA., JULY 1, 1862.

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Mechanicsville, Va., June 26th, 1862.
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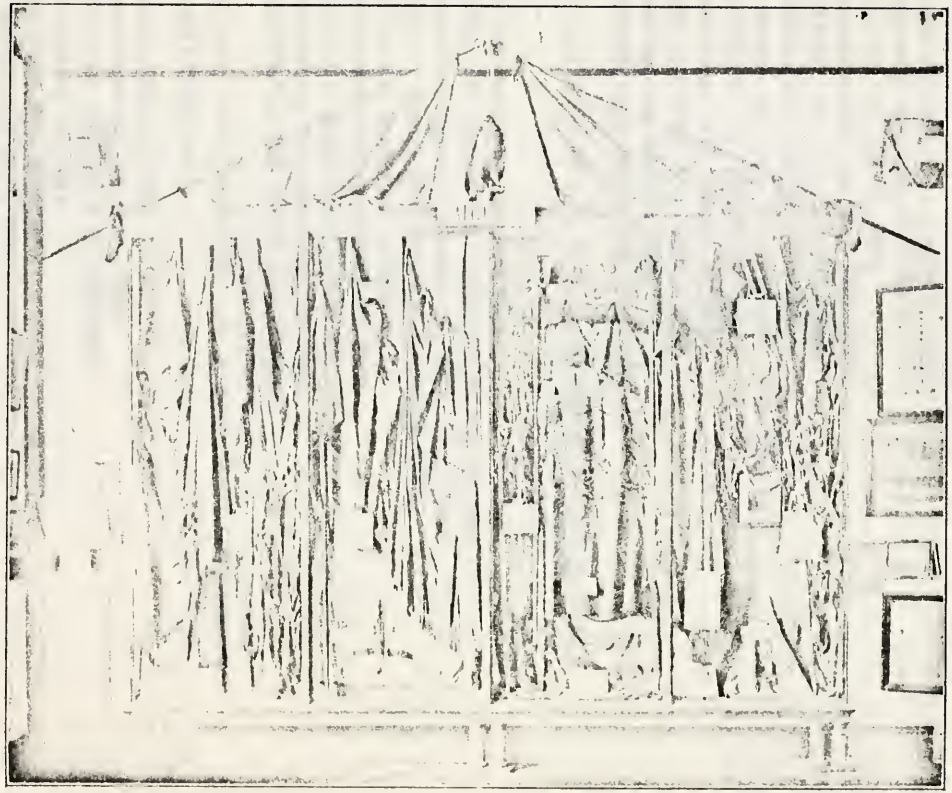
REBEL SIGNAL FLAG, TAKEN FROM THE HANDS OF A CONFEDERATE AT FORT FISHER, N. C., JANUARY 15, 1865, BY E. S. FOSKETT, CORPORAL CO. B, 117TH N. Y. V.



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Manassas Junction, Va., August 17, 1862.
Spottsylvania, Va., May 19, 1864.
North Anna, Va., May 23, 1864.
Tolopotomy Creek, Va., May 30th, 1864.
Cold Harbor, Va., June 3 to 12, 1864.
Petersburg, Va., June 15 to 17, 1864.
Deep Bottom, Va., July 26 and August 14-18, 1864.
Reams Station, Va., August 26, 1864.
Hatcher's Run, Va., October 28, 1864.
Sunderland Station, Va., April 2, 1865.
Dentonville, Va., April 6, 1865.
Appomattox Court House, Va., April 9, 1865.

FLAG OF THE 26TH N. Y. S. V., WAS CARRIED IN THE BATTLES OF:—

Cedar Mountain, Va., August 9, 1862.
Rappahannock Station, Va., August 20, 21 and 22, 1862.
Thoroughfare Gap, Va., August 28, 1862.
Groveton, or Second Bull Run, Va., August 30, 1862.
Chantilly, Va., September 1, 1862.
South Mountain, Md., September 14, 1862.
Antietam, Md., September 17, 1862.
Fredericksburg, Va., December 13th, 1862.
Chancellorsville, Va., May 2, 3 and 4, 1863.

FLAG OF THE 117TH REGIMENT, N. Y. S. V., WAS CARRIED IN THE BATTLES OF:—

Siege of Suffolk, Va., 1863.
Hanover Junction, Va., July, 1863.
Siege of Fort Wagner, S. C., 1863-1864.
Swift's Creek, Va., 1864.
Drury's Bluff, Va., May, 1864.
Cold Harbor, Va., June, 1864.
Petersburg Heights, Va., June 15, 1864.
Siege of Petersburg, Va., 71 days in trenches, 1864.
Cemetery Hill, Va., July 30, 1864.
Chapin's Farm, Va., September 29, 1864.
Darbytown Road, Va., October 27, 1864.
Fort Fisher, N. C., January 15, 1865.
Fort Anderson, N. C., February 18 to 22, 1865.

FLAG WHICH WAS RAISED OVER LIBBY PRISON IN RICHMOND AFTER THE EVACUATION OF THAT CITY BY THE CONFEDERATE FORCES.

FLAGS OF THE 97TH REGIMENT, N. Y. S. V., WHICH WERE CARRIED IN THE FOLLOWING BATTLES:—

Cedar Mountain, Rappahannock, Thoroughfare Gap, Second Bull Run, Chantilly, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Mine Run, Raccoon Ford, Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Laurel Hill, North Anna, Bethsaida Church, Tolopotomy, Cold Harbor, White Oak Swamp, Petersburg, Norfolk & Petersburg Railroad, Weldon Railroad, Hatcher's Run, Hicksford, Quaker Road, White Oak Road, Five Forks, Appomattox Court House and Lee's Surrender.

FLAG OF THE 146TH REGIMENT, N. Y. S. V., WHICH WAS CARRIED IN THE BATTLES OF:—

Fredericksburg, Va., December 10-12, 1862.
Chancellorsville, Va., May 2 and 3, 1863.
Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 2 and 3, 1863.
Bristow Station, Va., August 27, 1863.
Rappahannock Station, Va., November 7, 1863.
Mine Run, Va., November 26, 1863.
Williamsport, Va.
Wapping Heights, Va.
Wilderness, Va., May 5 and 6, 1864.
Weldon Railroad, Va., May 5, 1864.
Spottsylvania, Va., May 9, 1864.
North Anna, Va., May 23, 1864.
Petersburg, Va., June 16, 1864.
Laurel Hill, Va., July 12, 1864.
Bethesda Church, Va.
Tolopotomy, Va.
Chappel House, Va.
Hicks Ford, Va.
Hatcher's Run, Va., October 27, 1864.
Five Forks, Va., March 31, 1865.
White Oak Road,
Appomattox Court House, Va., April 9, 1865.

Rev. William T. Gibson.

THE GENIUS OF ANGLO-SAXON LAW AND INSTITUTIONS CONTRASTED WITH THE LATIN CIVILIZATION OF IMPERIALISM.

An Address Before the Oneida Historical Society, at its March Meeting in Utica, 1888, by Rev. William T. Gibson, D. D., LL. D., Editor of the "Church Eclectic."

Gentlemen of the Oneida Historical Society:

THE subject upon which I have been announced to address you this evening, is too vast to be thoroughly handled in anything less than a systematic and bulky treatise. I can only hope to present a few points by way of suggestion to those who would like to extend their reading further in the same direction. As announced, the subject would appear to have to do solely with the past, but we are always to remember that the present condition of the world, or the condition of society at any given time, is the direct and logical outcome of what has gone before it. And this subject especially, is one that concerns the proper understanding of that state of society and that character of institutions under which we are living.

I suppose every one knows what is implied in Anglo-Saxon Law and Institutions, as a system and a spirit that never took their rise in any province of the ancient Roman Empire; never were affected to any sensible degree by the traditional ideas of the ancient imperialism. But it may be well to call to mind that what is meant by Latin civilization is simply that which has been developed in the various countries of Europe which once formed part of the ancient Roman Empire, or were included in that successor to it which Charlemagne and Otto the Great rehabilitated under the name of the "Holy Roman Empire," a name not formally abandoned until 1806. In all these countries, the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, as codified by the Emperor Jus-

tinian, formed the basis of all law, whether of persons or things, and has continued to furnish the main principles of their modern legislation, including even the Code Napoleon. The essence of Latin Civilization is Imperialism, hence the education of Latin civilization never tended to prepare a people for any alternative to despotism but Socialism, Communism, or Nihilism. The combination of authority with personal liberty has always been a difficult problem under the Civil Law. The State and the Head of the State being paramount, the individual occupies no other position than that of a subject or ward of the State: and the only natural reaction from such principles of government is Socialism, which, on the same principle of exalting society above the individual, hands over all individual rights and interests to a public and official management. The new German Empire is an illustration of both these extremes, perhaps ambitious to take up the inheritance of the old Holy Roman Empire where Bonaparte ended it, by its absolutism of *Blut und Eisen*, and by its Socialist propaganda.

The Anglo-Saxon Common Law on the other hand, with its sense of the sacredness of personal liberty, the obligation of private conscience, the inviolability of individual rights, is the system that was transferred to this continent, and underlies the legislation of all our States, except perhaps Louisiana, which inherited the Code Napoleon.

With this prefatory statement I may hope that the *drift* may be more apparent of the rather fragmentary and disjointed considerations that my limited time has allowed me to throw together on this subject: I can only ask acknowledgment of another principle, that in the setting forth of great general laws or characteristics, on so wide a field as history, apparent exceptions may only be a stronger proof of the rule.

I hope I shall not give any ground for the charge of *Anglomania* more positive than that afforded by the late Mr. Emerson in his "English Traits," where he says that "if there be one successful country in the universe during the last millennium,

that country is England," and that "the American is only the continuation and introduction of the English genius into new conditions more or less propitious,"—a statement to which the London "Daily Telegraph" has applied the expression so frequently in Talleyrand's mouth, "*C'etait un flatteur.*"

It is matter of common observation that our country is rapidly filling up with foreign populations, largely from the continental countries of Europe. We have a just confidence, grounded upon historical experience, in the wonderful assimilating powers of Anglo-Saxon language, law and institutions,—but in a country where political power is based chiefly on numbers, I suppose these things are not wholly beyond the modifying if not revolutionary influence of alien ideas and habits of thought, whether in the departments of religion, or literature, or social and political science.

Under such circumstances, it may not be unprofitable for us Americans to be reminded occasionally, as the children of Israel were often exhorted by their great prophets and teachers, to "look unto the Rock from whence they were hewn:" not to forget the grand principles illustrated in their own history, upon which their whole system of government was founded—not to betray or suffer to be lost those essential ideas which through all the obstacles and conflicts of the past, have resulted in placing the English-speaking nations in the forefront of all that can be called civilization on this globe to-day.

Of course it would be an interesting subject to study—the phenomena of the present day in the mingling and fusing of races over such large areas of the world, and the resulting modification of their inherited characteristics and ideas, under the enormous influence of the great improvements in physical science and the mechanical facilities of intercourse and transportation. But my thesis is concerned with some racial characteristics and ideas of our own English stock which it is certainly desirable to preserve and continue in our modern civilization, whatever other changes it is destined to undergo.

I have been accustomed to feel, in looking back at the early history of these Colonies, and at the kind of material with which the primaeval wildernesses of this continent were first subdued, that the republic of the new world is the rightful heir of all the glorious history of the Anglo-Saxon race—of all its triumphs in law and free government, in religion and social development, and especially in its incomparable literature: that Shakespeare, and Spenser, and Milton, were ours too, as well as Sir Walter Raleigh, and the other heroes of that golden age of Elizabeth, who left their very names upon the geography of this land.

The Colonial nomenclature of the whole region along the Atlantic slope of the Alleghanies, in cities and counties and townships, as well as States, is full of the events and associations of English history. In those days when we had a "Church without a Bishop," and before we had a "State without a king," it was an English Dean, born in Ireland, and afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, who became so enthusiastic over the new world, that he fairly sacrificed himself for it, by what Walpole regarded as a mere visionary educational project, when he came over and spent several years at Newport, where he finally left his farm and library towards the foundation of Yale College. He it was who sung in lines that have been perhaps more frequently quoted than many others that could claim a less doubtful character as poetry:

"Westward the course of Empire takes its way."

I suppose there is hardly a lawyer that has read anything back of the Code or the Revised Statutes, who would not admit that even these have to be judicially construed in accordance with rules and principles of the Common Law, that extend back, as Blackstone has it, "time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary"—that English and American Courts appeal to common sources of Law in their judicial determinations, and that in law and political science we have simply developed and simplified what our fathers brought with them. Even what we call "the Revolution" was in no sense

such as those movements to which that name is attached in continental countries. It was not an overturning of the foundations of society. It was what, I think De Tocqueville has called a "diplomatic revolution"—that is, the issue was wholly with a ministry for the time being which usurped powers of government that did not belong to them. Our fathers contended for rights which they knew belonged to them under the English law and constitution. When they cried, "no taxation without representation," they contended for a principle of Anglo-Saxon liberty as old as Magna Charta, or the laws of King Alfred; a principle that was in operation, in the Saxon Witan or Wittenagemotes long before the Norman Conquest, while the Franks and the Normans and the German successors of Charlemagne, were carrying on what Milton called the "battle of Kites and Crows," between Emperor and Kings, and Kings and Dukes, and these with other subordinate feudal chiefs of all degrees of petty territorial power or influence.

It has been said, truly as forcibly, that the original Constitution of these United States is, in its essence, little more than the Magna Charta of the 13th century with the Bill of Rights of the 17th century superadded. The right of the commons to a voice in legislation, the right of trial by jury, of "putting oneself upon the country" in all issues of person or property, the writ of *habeas corpus*, the being put in jeopardy of life or limb but once for the same offence, these and many other such principles bedded like rock in the very substratum of our social existence, have, through long ages, furnished the foundation for the magnificent superstructure of this land and this XIXth century.

Other republics on this continent may in imitation take over the same external form, and the same nominal machinery, but they have not had the same history, the same education, the same race in short, with the same ideas and hereditary spirit ingrained into its blood. It is not possible to construct a government and social system like a building with rapid accretions of brick and mortar. It is not possible to purchase and transfer

a national spirit like a commodity. It must be like the growth of a majestic tree, whose branches seem to kiss the sky, while all is developed from one trunk and root and one principle of life unseen and unknown, except through its outward manifestation. It is not merely of the English language, but of English institutions, of English law and liberty, that the roots can be traced back almost to the prehistoric age of the Aryan race. At all events the essential spirit or *ethos* that underlies our history can be recognised in the description which the Roman historian, Tacitus, gives of those Teutonic barbarians who never succumbed to the dominion of the Latin Empire, and who were the immediate ancestors of those tribes which wiped out the partially Romanised inhabitants of the British Isles, and completely changed what was first called Britain into what is now called England.

There has been nothing so persistent in this world, except Christianity, as the tongue and the spirit of the original Anglo-Saxon race. It is said that you cannot write a French sentence without putting in a Romance or Latin derived word. It is perfectly easy, as I believe Governor Seymour often recommended, to write any number of sentences in pure Saxon English without a single Latinized or Norman French expression. Examples in abundance are found in our English Bible:[1] "Behold the fowls of the air: they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns: yet your heavenly Father feedeth them:" or that sentence of rugged strength which I quoted at the outset: or even of a later day, that sentence in Lord Chatham's speech to the electors of Middlesex, which illustrates the very point of this Essay, the independent sense of the sacredness of personal individual rights which constitutes the very *differentia* of the Teutonic race from the nations of Latin descent:—"Every Englishman's house is his stronghold, which though the winds may whistle through, and the rains of heaven may enter it, yet

[1] The percentage of Saxon words has been calculated as follows: In the English Bible, 97; Swift, 89; Shakespeare, 85; Addison, 83; Spencer and Milton, 81; Dr. Johnson, 75; Gibbon, 58.

the King of England cannot!" That was a principle that the ancient democracies, any more than the Roman and mediaeval despotisms, knew nothing about. These latter would hardly have been capable of understanding it, where for ages the maxim of Civil Law was that the source of all law is in the will of the Emperor—*Voluntas Imperatoris.* How different the old maxim of Teutonic law, "The King can do no wrong:" so often demagogically quoted in an opposite sense. Any violation of law puts the king so far forth in the position of a private individual, just as it does the priest or bishop transcending his powers; and renders his unlawful act null and void, *ab initio*—binding on nobody. That is a principle peculiar to the sturdy race from which we are descended, and was unknown to Latin civilization. The civil Ruler has no right to do wrong, is its meaning, and even Henry VIIIth, who had so hard work to keep within the laws of England, by which so many of his predecessors had been brought to book, as well as several of his successors, was on impregnable ground when he took the stand that the Bishop of Rome had no right to dispense from the Law of God.

Even our Puritan fathers, genuine Englishmen all of them, when, as is said, at the first town meeting ever held in New Haven, they passed a resolution to "be governed by the laws of God, until they got time to make better ones," (meaning, of course, the Mosaic civil Statutes), announced the same old principle of the Saxon Wittenagemot, that they must be governed by law, and that it must be law recognized as such by the common reason and conscience. And this, I believe, is the very definition given of law by the classic English writer on Law himself: "Law is the expression of the public reason:" and no law or statute can long stand that finds the public reason and conscience arrayed against it. The reconciliation of Liberty and Law is the grand triumph of our hereditary civilization: the realization of that glorious climax which unfolded itself before the vision of our great classic theologian of the age of Elizabeth, when he wrote these now familiar, but immortal words:

"Of Law there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world: all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power." And this is as true in the world of moral consciousness and action, as it is now recognized and understood and obeyed, too, wherever men wish to succeed, in the world of physical science.

Hallam opens his great work on the Constitutional History of England with the following sentence: "The Government of England in all times recorded by history has been one of those mixed or limited monarchies which the Keltic and Gothic tribes appear universally to have established in preference to the coarser despotism of Eastern Nations, to the more artificial tyranny of Rome and Constantinople, or to the various models of republican policy which were tried upon the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea. * * * England more fortunate than the rest (i. e. than the Roman or Latinized nations of Continental Europe, which had inherited the language and law of Rome), had acquired by the 15th century a just reputation for the goodness of her laws and the security of her citizens from oppression." He then goes on to show how far back in history the essential present Constitution of the English Parliament as representing all orders in the State, and as limiting and practically controlling the monarchy, extends.

In this sentence will be recognized at least a glimpse of my thesis, the "Differential Elements of Anglo-Saxon Law and Civilization," though he does not, either in this work, or in his "Middle Ages," follow up the comparison of English and Continental ideas. He uses the words "Gothic or Keltic" indeed, in a wide or loose sense; for even if we may allow the term Gothic to the Danish and Scandinavian Northmen who invaded and settled in England and France, nothing is more certain than that the Keltic element as such had little or no part in the origin of the English language and institutions.

It will be fifty years ago this season since I heard a Professor of a Medical College (the late Dr. Coventry, of this city), tell his class that the Science of Medicine had made greater progress in the previous thirty years than in thirty centuries before. If that were so then, what would he say now?—perhaps that people die all the same. But we claim similar progress for almost all departments of knowledge. History is one that has profited no less than most others by modern research. Gibbon's work indeed pretty well holds its own as a wonderful monument of learning and original investigation for the century in which it was written. But early English history was only a confused mass of superficial guess-work, like Mosheim's history of Christianity, until there arose the modern school of documentary research, represented by such men as Sir Francis Palgrave, Profs. Haddan and Stubbs, E. A. Freeman, and John R. Green, who have shown that a History of the English People exhibits far more of what was the "Making of England" than any mere annals of its kings, whether of the Saxon Heptarchy, so-called, or of the successive Norman, Angevin or Plantagenet, Tudor, Stuart, and Hanoverian lines of sovereigns.

Men of this new school might have taken for their motto the first sentence in the Preface of Mr. Hildreth's very able History of the United States—a history that might like Hallam's, be fairly called a Constitutional History: "Of Fourth of July orations and semi-centennial sermons in the guise of History, we have had more than enough."

Mr. Hume, for instance, did not seem to know that there ever had been any such thing as Christianity in Britain, until about the time of the Saxon invasion, when he alludes to some disputes in the theological world, and mentions incidentally among the ravages of the heathen newcomers, their destruction of churches and monasteries. Yet we know S. Alban suffered martyrdom at Verulam in the Diocletian persecution in 304; that Constantine the Great, if not born at York, as William of Malmesbury puts it, yet set out on his victorious career as an

"Augustus" from that place, where his father died in 306; that three British Bishops attended the Council of Arles in the South of France in 314; and that the famous heresiarch, Pelagius, who set all Christendom by the ears, in the days of S. Augustine, or the beginning of the 5th century, was a Briton, that is to say, a Welshman, by the name of Morgan.

The Roman Empire made little impression upon the German tribes before the time of the Frankish monarchy. Julius Caesar had enough to do to keep the Germans out of Gaul, and the victory of Arminius, or Herrman, over the legions of Varus in the year 9, was a victory that belonged to our Saxon ancestry as well, and prevented Roman law and civilization from becoming the chief moulding element in English history, as they were in the subsequent history of continental nations. Britain was one of the last of the Roman conquests, and that conquest was in no sense a real conquest until a hundred years after Julius Caesar's time, that is, during the reign of Claudius, who overcame Caractacus, or Caradoc, the British or Keltic chief. The revolt of Boadicea and the victory of Suetonius, was in the reign of Nero. Julius Agricola built his line of forts from Clyde to the Firth of Forth in 81, while Hadrian afterwards built his wall from Carlisle to the mouth of the Tyne, against those Pictish tribes of Caledonia who never could be brought under the Roman dominion. But during the whole period until the Roman power evacuated the country in the year 410, their occupation was chiefly in fortified towns or camps (*castra*), the traces of which remain, not only in unmistakable ruins of Roman masonry, and the roads which connected these places, like Watling Street and the Fosse Way, but also in the names still adhering to the towns that have been rebuilt on their sites, such as Chester, Winchester, Leicester, Gloucester, and generally all those whose names end in that syllable *ceaster* (for *castra*).

Now the main thesis of Prof. Freeman's work on "The Norman Conquest," in which perhaps he shows an ardour and eagerness of style, hardly suitable to the judicial character of a his-

torian, is two-fold: first to show that the Teutonic conquest of the Keltic Britons, partially Romanized as they were, was altogether unlike the Frankish conquest of Gaul, or the Gothic conquest of Spain, in which the conquerors were so merged with the conquered, as to have their language and customs entirely modified and leavened with the elements of Roman civilization—Roman law, Roman literature and the religion of Christianity as affected by these elements. The Romance languages of the Continent, as signified by the very word, were the result of fusing the invaders with the native population, by which the conquerors were conquered themselves, through the powerful means of the religion and the civil law of Rome under which they remain to this day. His other point is to show that the Norman Conquest was more like these latter—not a revolution, but a turning point in English history—that the Normans, who had been in France for but two or three generations, and were already allied by blood and descent to the English, instead of supplanting and driving out the English people, were merged into them, adopted their whole constitution and system of laws, and by the time of the Angevin Kings thoroughly became Englishmen themselves, as had the Danes before them.

It is this fact which proves what is the main purpose of this Essay, that there is something in the Teutonic blood, habits of thought, and civil institutions, from the days of Tacitus down, entirely different from and alien to those of both the great Eastern and Western Empires, which under the name of what we now call the Civil Law, *par excellence*, the *Jus Civile*, made the will of an Emperor, the fountain and sanction of all law. That something is the secret of the modern development of English history, of the love of personal liberty, the sacredness of Domestic relations, that is, of the *Home*, which no other language gives us—the equality of all before the laws, the personal accountability to God, the independent spirit of enterprise and adventure which have created a commercial charac-

ter that distinguishes the English-speaking peoples above the rest of the world.

This race, when it came in such detachments as were called Angles, Jutes and Saxons, into Britain, made a conquest like no other in Europe. It was a complete wiping out or driving off of the native British or Keltic population, with all their Roman improvements or acquisitions—their very language as well as their religion disappearing out of the whole region settled by the invaders, behind the fastnesses of Wales, the highlands of Scotland, the peat bogs of Ireland, or the sand dunes of Armorica or "Brittany" in Gaul. It was not a conquest so much as an extermination. It was like Tacitus' pregnant phrase, *Faciunt solitudinem, pacem appellant.* But they settled in this wilderness and they began a new nation and a new history whose records are not yet ended.

As Prof. Freeman says in his Norman Conquest:

A more fearful blow never fell on any nation than the landing of the Angles and Saxons was to the Celt of Britain. But we may now be thankful for the barbarism and ferocity of our forefathers. Had we stayed in our earlier land, we should have remained undistinguished from the mass of our Low Dutch kinsfolk. Had we conquered and settled only as Goths and Burgundians conquered and settled, we should be simply one more member of the great family of the Romance nations. Had we been a colony sent forth only after the mother country had attained to any degree of civilization, we might have been lost like the Normans in Sicily, or the Franks in Palestine. As it was we were a colony sent forth while our race was still in a state of healthy barbarism. The Goth is merged in the Romance population of Italy, Spain and Aquitaine: the Old Saxon has lost his national being through the subtler proselytism of the High German; but the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, transplanted to the shores of Britain, have won for themselves a new name and a national being, and have handed on to us the distinct and glorious inheritance of Englishmen.

Our Saxon English ancestors were indeed savage, ruthless heathens, worshippers of Woden and Thunder. M. Taine, in his remarkably successful book on English Literature, seems to take a French relish in describing them:

Huge white bodies, cool-blooded, with fierce blue eyes, reddish flaxen hair, ravenous stomachs filled with meat and cheese, heated by strong drinks: of a cold temperament, slow to love, home stayers, prone to brutal drunkenness: pirates at first: of all kinds of hunting the man-hunt most profitable and most noble. They dashed to sea in their two-sailed barks, landed anywhere, killed everything: and having sacrificed in honor of their gods the tithe of their prisoners, and leaving behind them the red light of their burnings, went farther on to begin again.

But after all this cheerful description which he draws out at some length, he seems to discern certain qualities not found in other races:

Under this native barbarism there were noble dispositions unknown to the Roman world, which were destined to produce a better people out of its ruins. In the first place a certain earnestness which leads them out of frivolous sentiments to noble ones * * * no less capable of self-denial than of independence. * * * Through all outbreaks of primitive brutality gleams obscurely the grand idea of duty, which is, the self-constraint in view of some noble end. * * * They thought there was something sacred in a woman: they married but one, and kept faith with her. In fifteen centuries the idea of marriage is unchanged with them. As Tacitus says, the wife gives herself altogether—one body, one life with him—no thought beyond—will suffer and dare, as his sole companion in peace or war. He catches a glimpse of the sublime in his dreams—his religion is already within, as it will be in the 16th century—the world is a warfare, and heroism the highest good.

"In Homer the warrior often gives way, and is not blamed if he flees for his life." It was Aristophanes who first perpetrated that joke: "He who fights and runs away, May live to

fight another day." Not so is it in the Sagas of the North "in Germany the coward is drowned in the mud under a hurdle." The Saxon cares not for his blood or his life. They always fought as Harold and his huscarles fought at the battle of Senlac to the last man, or as the six hundred at the charge of Balaclava, or as Picton's and Maitland's brigades fought at Waterloo.

There may be something fanciful and poetical in Taine's picture: but it cannot be denied that there is such a thing as race characteristics in the family of mankind, and the races that never in any way were touched by the powers of those age-long empires of Rome and Byzantium, could not but develope some traits and principles *sui-generis* in history.

I am well aware that Guizot calls the statement of Tacitus in regard to the Teutonic honor of woman, a *chimera*; and says the sentiment of reverence for woman arose in the feudal system; but he elsewhere admits that the feudal system itself was the offspring of German ideas and society. It is not Tacitus alone who refers to this peculiarity. Julius Caesar in his campaigns in Gaul, observed that the Germans would not even engage in battle without consulting their women.

Christianity goes to all races alike. Its glory is that it carries that which appeals to and finds lodgment in every human soul. But, as in the examples of Jewish history, religion itself takes on a specific character in the modes of its expression and its application to individual life, from the inherent traits of race and ancestry. And the religion of Christianity found in the Anglo-Saxon race a soil in which its principles of personal individual responsibility and the sovereign supremacy of individual conscience as distinguished from all mere external cults, took the deepest root in all Christendom. National autonomy in all matters civil and religious, is a principle that crops out in Anglo-Saxon history all along from the days of Edwine, and Baeda, and Alfred, and Athelstan, and Edward, as well as in the Barons of Runnymede, the conflict of Henry with Becket,

in Wyclif and the Lollards, in the various statutes of *Provisors* and *Premunire* which Henry VIII. had nothing to do but revive and appeal to as carrying out the ancient policy of the realm.

It was a long process of several centuries that turned our heathen ancestors into Christians. But Christian, and intensely Christian, England became, as early as the reign of Alfred, and even before the so-called Heptarchy was merged into one kingdom. It was the Englishman Alcuin that Karl the Great sent for to help him organize the European chaos. It was the unity of the Church of England that forged the unity of the State, and led to the formation of one Witan, or Parliament for the whole. As early as 668 England was divided into parishes and dioceses by Archbishop Theodore, and the present system of endowments by tithes begun. All this too, in spite of the outbreaks of heathenism like that of Penda, the heathen king of Middle England or Mercia, who slew five Christian kings, and was at last himself slain at the battle of Wingfield in 655, that settled forever the question of Woden or Christ. And England remained Christian too, in spite of the overwhelming incursions of heathen Danes and Northmen, to the extent of her final conquest by them under Knut; for all these were converted and absorbed into the English stock, as the Normans were afterward.

But I cannot help thinking that Prof. Freeman in his account of the gradual conversion of the English or Anglo-Saxons to Christianity, gives too exclusive credit to what he calls the "special mission from the common ecclesiastical centre" which was then the centre of civilization, after Constantinople. When that mission came into Kent in 596, within a year or two it held a conference with seven Christian Bishops and a large number of clergy, on the Severn, in the West of England, who refused to put themselves in connection with it; and but a few years after, in 607, a heathen Northumbrian king slew no less than 2,000 Welsh Christians of Bangor, in a battle at Chester on the Dee. However much legendary or mythical matter there may be in the Welsh Triads, there is a substratum of historical truth.

Christianity came into Ireland probably from Gaul, at a time when missionaries had little reference to any "ecclesiastical centre." S. Patrick in Ireland, S. David and S. Asaph in Wales, and S. Mungo and S. Ninian in Scotland, are names of Christian missionaries laboring long before the arrival of Augustin, some of them before the Saxon conquest of Britain.

Long before the missionaries of Kent had made much impression north of the Thames, Northern and Middle England had been largely evangelised by a succession of British, or Welsh or Scots missionaries. S. Patrick and S. Ninian date back to the time of S. Martin of Tours, before the Saxons came to England. S. Patrick's labors in Ireland led to the foundation of that famous missionary centre of S. Columba on the west coast of Scotland, the Island of Iona, or as it is named from him Icolmkill, whose ruins and runic cross are still the object of Christian veneration. This place furnished sanctuary to a Northumbrian prince and sent him back to help on the Christianizing of Northern England. Those who have read Mr. Green's "History of the English People," have not forgotten the beautiful pictures he draws of that long succession of faithful, self-sacrificing men that came forth from S. Columba's school and founded that other great centre of Lindisfarne, from whence Christian missionary work radiated almost to the Thames in the South, and the personal traits of such true men of God as S. Aidan, S. Finan, S. Colman, S. Cuthbert and S. Chad, whose names are yet enshrined in some of the churches and Cathedrals they founded. The author of "Footprints of our Fathers" very truly says:

From the 6th to the 10th century Banchor and Lindisfarne contained a race of scholars who protested alike against continental dictation and Augustinian predestination: who upheld Greek learning and philosophic speculation when these were almost extinct at Canterbury and York, asserting the freedom of the will, believing in the existence of the Antipodes, by far the best astronomers of their time, who as they pondered over the

pages of Martianus Capella, well-nigh anticipated the theory of Copernicus.

Irish missionaries penetrated over the Continent of Europe, witness such names as S. Gall in Switzerland, and the Convent of S. Columbanus at Bobbio, in Lombardy, besides many others in Gaul and Brittany.

It is not to be wondered at that British Christians were slow to have any dealings with what they regarded as such irreclaimable savages as the heathen Saxons, but when these did yield at last to Christian influences, they ceased their work of extermination and took up that of government and administration, and sought to bring all under a uniform system of law and order.

Of course while I thus exalt the character of early English and Welsh missionaries, I do not thereby subscribe to the mediaeval system of canonization, which seems to have been governed by reference to partisan services, rather than personal merit. What are we to think of a Kalendar that puts down such a weak, narrow-minded, superstitious and disloyal character as "Edward the Confessor," so-called, and leaves out Alfred the Great, whom Mr. Freeman regards as positively the most perfect character in history (not Divine) whether looked at as statesman, lawgiver, soldier, scholar or saint?

John Adams, in his message on the death of Washington, took occasion to liken him to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. It would have been much higher honor to compare him to a Christian king like Alfred, even if he might be confessed to have fallen short of his model only as a scholar or as a saint. One feels that Alfred should have been the patron saint of England emblazoned on her banners instead of the mythical S. George, or the unpatriotic Edward.

The same Kalendar puts in Thomas a Becket, the tool of a foreign usurpation; and passes over such men as Stephen Langton, the champion of liberty along with those barons who cried out, *Nolumus leges Anglie mutari*:—and Robert Gros-

tete, that model of a learned, high-minded, and loveable prelate, courageous and resolute in defending the liberties of the Anglican Church.

Grostete was the preceptor of Roger Bacon, the friend and counsellor of Simon de Montfort, and really one of the purest and bravest of the many true Englishmen who bore witness to the character of Bible religion as against the wickedness and corruption that was trying to dominate England from "the common ecclesiastical centre."

Our American Church has simply done well in dropping the whole of the black letter calendar. One good thing was said by Pope Urban II. in the time of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry I., showing that the Latin ecclesiastic had at that early day a true instinctive consciousness of the fundamental difference of Anglo-Saxon life and ideas from all the traditions of the Roman Empire. "That Metropolitan of England," said he, "will become *Papa alterius orbis*"—the Pope of another world, or a world by itself. Could he have lived to this age, he would have felt that in that prophetic utterance "he builded better than he knew."

It would, of course, be a very tedious process to point out in detail all the characteristic differences between the institutions of the English Common Law and those of the Civil Law of the Roman Empire as digested in the Code and Pandects and Novels of Justinian in the 6th century.

The reforms which Constantine introduced into the government of the Roman Empire might all be summed up in a single phrase, the *Bureaucratic* system:—division of labor, and every department directly accountable to the Emperor. The *voluntas Imperatoris* was the *fons et origo* of all law as the temporal "Lord of the World;" and not only the principle of gradation in authority, but that of the sacredness of individual personal rights and liberties was hardly thought of. The State was paramount in all respects and in all circumstances, and the citizen subject lived only for the State. Under this broad principle, all

issues were tried on certain general rules of public equity, and the distinction between issues of fact and issues of law was practically obscured or ignored. There was little or no idea of authority based upon a representation of the *communis sensus* or will of the people, for the *Corpus Juris* is chiefly made up of the *rescripts* and decrees of successive emperors in the course of history, just as the canon or ecclesiastical law grew in pretty much the same way under a similar system of imperialism.

All indeed, as citizens, were in a sense equal before the law, but that means one thing in a system of despotism, quite another in a republic, or confederation of republics.

As Dr. Bryce, an Oxford Professor of the Civil Law, in his able monograph on the "Holy Roman Empire, which brought Teutonic Germany at last under Roman law, as well as the already Romanized states of Southern and Western Europe, says of the system of imperialism erected by Julius Caesar and Augustus on the ruins of the republic:

"The sacrifice of the individual to the mass, the concentration of all legislative and judicial powers in the person of the Sovereign, the centralization of the administrative system, the maintenance of order by a large military force, the substitution of the influence of public opinion for the control of representative assemblies"—"where administration is only too perfect, and the pressure of social uniformity only too strong—these are taken as the salient characteristics of Imperialism." He says also, "that but for this Holy Roman Empire, in which a German monarch became the successor of Justinian, a body of Teutonic law would have grown up as in England, instead of all Germany being made subject to the *Corpus Juris Civilis*."

In view of this picture, I do not think it is an inapt or gratuitous thing for any one to utter warnings against the return of imperialism, whether we look at that feature of it which is termed centralization, with its claim to be the sole interpreter of public opinion, or to that subjection of representative bodies to external pressure, whereby they simply register the dictates

of a superior power, whether of corporate or socialistic combinations, or of a national political cabal. I cannot help saying just here, that whether our separation of the judiciary from the legislative department is going to continue a mark of our improvement upon the English Constitution in this respect, depends on whether, under our present system, it can be kept inaccessible to the same kind of political (or other) influences which have too notoriously affected our legislative action.

Among our Saxon forefathers there were indeed all the three elements of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy together. The "Ealdormen" (or kings) were descendants of their gods, the nobles those of the greatest prowess in war; the yeomanry the fellow soldiers and retainers of these leaders: but no Ealdorman, or even Bretwalda or Suzerain over-lord could do anything without his Witan or assembly of wise men, "jarls, and thanes," and at least in the shire-moots, "karls" as well. The Wittenagemotes could always elect or depose their Kings: even when they confined themselves to certain lines or families they had no scruple in setting aside an unworthy successor for the best man that could be obtained, whether of the same kin or other.

The original tenure of land among them, when they subdivided the common or "folk-land," was the allodial, mostly the same as our fee simple or absolute ownership, subject only to service in the field, and the repair of fortresses and bridges. The feudal system came in only with the Norman conquest, and that was modified and nearly broken down by the superior persistance of English law as early as the reign of Duke William's grand-son.

Magna Charta, in its provision for levying of scutages only by the "common council" of the Kingdom, as well as Simon de Montfort, in securing the representation of the boroughs in Parliament, did as much as anything to wipe out practically the feudal system, and to restore the real spirit and principles of old Saxon law and government.

Montesquieu, the author of *L'Esprit du Lois*, was wholly right in saying that the English Monarchy is but a "republic in disguise." Instead of a power imposed upon a people, it is a power held in trust for the people under it.

The fact is, and this is the point on which I lay stress, the whole thought and idea of the Common Law was exactly the contradictory of the ancient Greek and Roman civilizations. In these latter the individual existed only for the State—he and all his belongings were the property of the State. Even in the Greek Democracy, if the exchequer ran short, and money was needed for a foreign raid, all that was necessary was for some Cleon, "the bully, the bubbler and the butt of the mob" to bring into the Agora a bill for confiscating the property of certain rich citizens, foreign merchants by preference.

It was the same traditional spirit that made Louis XIV. exclaim "*L' Etat? c'est moi!*" "I am the State," and cropped out in those words of Napoleon to the lady who wished to redeem her son from the conscription, "Madam, you, your children and your fortune are already my property." No such idea as that can be found in English history. Napoleon may have meant more than he said: for it is not unlikely that his thought was to re-establish a lineal successor to the Holy Roman Empire, the shadow of which had remained to his own day.

The leading idea of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers was just the reverse of all this. No State or King or combination of powers can override the sacred rights of any individual whatever. Even under the theory of Eminent Domain, no private property can be taken for public use without compensation. No arrest or seizure, or domiciliary visits, without process of law, and no punishment without indictment and trial. The very organization of the English people into "hundreds" and "townships" and shires, each with its "moot" or Court with that ancient institution of the *posse Comitatus*, made a wrong done to any person the common grievance and common cause of all. Instead of the individual being made for the State, the State was made for the individual.

This kind of race education prepared our ancestors to receive at once with full appreciation that glorious declaration by the Saviour of the world, that "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath"—that even the Institutions of Divine authority on earth are for the beneficial discipline of humanity, and not ends in themselves to which human souls must be sacrificed. It was the survival and echo of this Anglo-Saxon principle that Jefferson instinctively sounded in the Declaration of Independence, when he wrote: "To secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed: and when any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish," &c.

The truth of the whole matter is, that our ancestry in England was a colonization or fragment broken off from the Teutonic mass on the continent long before it came under the Roman Empire, and transplanted into Britain where is swept out every relic of Roman Imeprialism and civilization, to settle down and develop as an Anglo-Saxon race on the lines of its original liberty-loving and independent character and its ideas of all government resting on law only as the expression of the will and welfare of the people.

For the United Kingdom or State at last grew out of the very gradual aggregation of the primitive "marks" or districts settled by families of the same kin, hundreds, townships, shires, and earldoms or provinces, into one kingdom or central suzerainty: just as our Colonies grew into one national government, yet retaining certain sovereign rights of local jurisdiction over persons and real estate. Perhaps some restoration of this principle of local jurisdiction is what England chiefly needs at the present time.[1]

The three Divine Institutions in the world are the Family, the Church and the State. When and wherever these Institutions

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[1] This was written before Lord Salisbury introduced his bill for local or county Boards.

are abrogated or subverted, the interests of the human race for whose benefit they were designed, are put in peril and suffer loss. In regard to all these the Common Law expressed the spirit and principles of the Christian Religion, while the Civil Law is essentially Pagan. The Common Law regards the family as the unit of society, and recognises in every free man the head of a family or the possible head of a family, who shall be held responsible to the State for the government and support of that family. The interests of husband and wife are identical and can never be set in opposition to each other. Any tort committed by the wife is visited on the head of the family, and as the Scripture declares them one flesh, there is a merger of separate personalities, and before the law they are one person, with no power to sue or witness against each other. The pagan law reduces society to a sand heap of individual grains, a herd of men, women and children, treated separately, and all domestic relations are simply matters of civil contract, without any recognition of the Divine Institution, or even the plain Law of Nature.

As Gibbon says of the Roman law of marriage and divorce, "the most tender of human connections was degraded to a transient society of profit or pleasure. According to the various conditions of life both sexes alternately felt the disgrace or injury," which answers well enough for a description of American society now since the modification of our English laws, by the introduction of these same pagan Roman principles, as the columns of our newspapers almost daily witness.

The distinguished editor of "Harper's Weekly" writes in the most superficial way about the word "obey" in the old English Marriage Service, forgetting that it is one of the immemorial badges of the dignity of woman, a survival of the Teutonic spirit of chivalry—which implies that in all matters matrimonial it is her privilege not to have to ask, but to be asked—not to seek for such favors but to grant them. The pagan idea reduces her to the level if not of the brutes, yet of the lowest order of abandoned characters who do their own soliciting. The pagan

idea of civil contract kept the whole matter of marriage on a level of legalised concubinage, and led to a system of arbitrary and unlimited divorces, just as the introduction of the same ideas into our law is doing in this country. And it was the expansion of the same pagan ideas in Rousseau's *Contract Sociale*, which proposed to turn society and the State itself into a mere civil contract between its members, that led to the chaos and murderous anarchy of the French Revolution, when the great leaders successively evolved by the movement only succeeded in exterminating each other, till a single man arose who was strong enough to revive the old habitual ideas of Military Imperialism.

I am well aware that Lord Mansfield created almost a new department of commercial jurisprudence, by appropriating or adjusting the contract principles of the Civil Law. I know that the long line of illustrious jurists celebrated in Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors, built up a grand system of equity jurisprudence by utilising the principles of both the Canon and the Civil Law: but in England the old Christian Common Law is still for the most part intact.

Of course, I do not dwell here upon the present possibilities and prospects of fundamental changes in the English system, and the indications of that decadence which have so far in all history overtaken the mightiest civilizations of the world after the lapse of a thousand years.

But I fear that the efforts of men like the late Judge Story and his followers have already corrupted our system with too much of the leaven of Roman law, and done much to undermine the sacred sanctions of family and social order, especially by its application to the legislation on the domestic relations. In proportion as the family relation is preserved and purified, so is the nation strengthened and fortified. We can put the family life of our ancestors, and all that is implied in that word Home, against that of any other people under the sun. I take leave to say, with the author of *John Inglesant*, that the fam-

ily life of our race for the 300 years past, both in clergy and laity, has produced a type of Christian gentleman nowhere to be surpassed in history.

Are there no causes at work in our American civilization tending steadily to break down this mighty influence of Christian family life? I do not go further into those causes. It is enough here to point out salient principles. If we could keep out paganism from family life and the law of domestic relations, and from the system of political suffrage and representation, we need not so much fear the application of the Civil law to the vast interests of industry and commerce; although manifestly the time has come when it will need to be supplemented by something which no system of law has yet supplied, to solve the problems forced upon us by that looming phenomenon of our modern civilization, the unlimited combination of associated capital—those giant corporations that threaten to overshadow all boundaries legal as well as territorial, and to control the very sources of all legislative power itself. This may be the retribution for throwing out the moral element of law, and letting things take their course down the retrogade lines of pagan civilization.

I suppose it will be thought that in such a discussion as this the brilliant lectures of Guizot on civilization should not be ignored. Although I have read him only in his own language, I think I find abundant confirmation of the view I have taken. He fully admits and glories in the new elements introduced from Teutonic sources into the European family, ideas of personal liberty unknown to Roman society, a country life and individual independence very strange to that Latin civilization which all consisted in building cities and making government solely a confederation of cities linked to the Capital by a system of proconsuls which was the case even in Britain while the Romans occupied it. There was no such thing as personal, self-respecting liberty and individual rights: there was only the liberty of a citizen—of a member of a municipal corporation, and those were governed, not as the free cities of Germany or

the Hanseatic League, but too much as our's are getting to be, not on the business principles of a business corporation, but according to the exigencies and ideas of State or national politics. But after all Guizot defines civilization as the effect obtained by two factors, the development of the individual and the development of society, and though they react upon each other, it cannot be disputed that the development of individual men unto "the measure of the stature of the fulness" of the ideal Man, (not merely mills or machinery, or steam or electricity, or even the condition of being contemptible units or ciphers in some grand combination) is the highest essential to that progress of the world which alone deserves the name of civilization.

France, from her peculiar history, has been more *en rapport* with English civilization than any other country in Europe, though so often at war with it; and so France has passed through a series of reactions against the imperial spirit of Latin civilization. What she needs now, to make her republic a success, is to cease identifying Christianity with historic Imperialism: and to realize the truth, that Christianity, though a supernatural order in the world, but not of it, has its own appointed system of teaching, and institutions that guard the personal freedom and spiritual welfare of every individual more closely and jealously than any civil institutions can do. Christianity claims all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them for the great Prophet, Priest and King of our race, not on the grounds of a secular dominion, not on the worldly conditions upon which they were once offered to Him by the common enemy of God and Man,—of a rivalry to and independence of the Almighty; but on the grounds of a true inward allegiance and love and worship in human hearts towards the Supreme Ruler of the Universe.

Rev. A. L. Byron-Curtiss.

THE MOHAWK VALLEY, A CHANNEL OF CIVILIZATION.

Paper read before The Oneida Historical Society of Utica, on April 17, 1903, by

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The situation and character of the Mohawk Valley would naturally make it the channel of any human activity in that particular portion of the North American continent where it is situated. A continuation, westward, of the valley of the Hudson, it could not be otherwise than adhered to and followed by man in traversing this portion of the globe. Broad and level, with hills and mountains on either side, gentle and pleasing, with no suggestion of that frowning forbiddence characteristic of craigs overhanging many valleys, it could not appear as an intrusion to man to enter; but on the contrary, invited entrance, encouraged occupancy and exploration by its hospitable nature and character. Once seen and appreciated by human instinct, it could do nothing else but encourage man to further advancement and exploration, leading either way to grand and noble temples of nature, and fields of inviting pasture, or lands flowing with the "milk and honey" of nature's contribution to human comfort, pleasure and happiness.

To the Aboriginies, we might say, the valley offered every inducement to the following of the chase, and also, by its broad and fertile nature, opportunities of pursuing their simple arts in the cultivation of the soil and maintaining a federation among themselves; while its water-ways, with occasional portages afforded ample communication with the countries on either side.

That it was thus utilized by the Indians from their earliest times, we have every reason to believe. While we have no dis-

tinct remains of the "Mound Builders" in the valley, (which after all the scientist are beginning to assert were the red men) we have, preserved by tradition, by the best gems of American literature which has gathered those traditions, and by the federation of the six nations, the best proof possible, of the occupancy and use of the Mohawk valley, by the natives in the way indicated.

The fiery Adirondacks tenure of the valley was the first human occupancy as far as our knowledge goes. Their to us, selfish control of it was finally broken by wars extending probably over a long period of time. The Federation of the Six Nations as it is commonly called, we may take as the data from which to reckon its use as a channel, a highway, for the advancement. the progress of civilization. For we are not so bigotted, I am sure, as to deny to men other than caucasian, the term civilizers and civilization. This Federation has been characterized by the best and most judicial minds, and statesmen, as among the greatest political and social treaties made by different peoples. It was an agreement, not for war, but for peace. This was the principle motive and object; and save for defensive tactics to enforce and preserve that peace on the part of other peoples, the compact was strictly adhered to by the Iroquois. and peace reigned in the valley for the space of three hundred years.

Progress could not help but follow such conditions. From the time of the compact on to the coming of the white man, the members of the Iroquois Federation were free to traverse the valley at will, with an assurance of fraternal welcome at any lodge or village upon which he might chance. One of the party accompanying the expedition of La Salle has left us a fair idea of those times. The Iroquois were not roving bands dwelling in wigwams, but were "hut" or "house builders" as their name implies. Their villages were quite extensive and pretentious. The meager attempt at a reproduction of an Iroquois village at the Exposition at Buffalo was not, I am sure, an adequate

illustration of how the Iroquois really lived originally. The space enclosed by the stockade was small; the "Long House" more like a hovel, the domestic dwellings like bee hives, and the whole cramped and crowded. While the writer referred to, who accompanied La Salle, tells us the Long House in the centre of the village was convenient and commodious, the family houses large and ample, and the whole orderly and attractive; all of which could not be said of the Iroquois village at the Pan American Exposition. This writer also tells us, that their "long houses" were often one hundred feet long, with benches along the sides, which the men of La Salle's party when visiting the Senecas used as beds upon which to sleep. He also declared he found the cabins of the Senecas bearing a "homelike aspect," and said they deserved the title "of the Romans of the west." He found the village commodious and convenient, while outside the stockade were cultivated fields of maze, squash, potatoes, etc., further attesting to the industry of these provident people. He also noted that at that time, the stockades were falling into disuse, by reason of the peace that reigned.

Such fairly substantial Iroquois villages were scattered well along from the Hudson through the Mohawk Valley, on to the Ne-ah-ga-ra river, and Lake Erie. The males followed the peaceful pursuits of the chase, which, besides providing food, furnished furs and skins, which were worked up in artistic and useful manner. They attended the councils of the Federation, elected the chiefs and managed the affairs of the Federation with a wisdom and statesmanship superior in its quality. They always sought the advancement, the common welfare of the federated tribes, and wisely provided for the protection of their country from invasion by the hostile foe. The females attended to the work of the village, including husbandry, and other simple arts.

Now the principal thing that contributed both to the inception and maintenance of this remarkable treaty, so conducive to peace, may, without hesitation, be said to have been the Mo-

hawk Valley, with its one main waterway, pursuing its tortuous course through the broad floor of nature's lovely and expansive temple, its tributary streams, the Susquehanna valley a contributory channel on the south, and lastly, the continuation of this natural means of communication westward, by the portage or carry at Rome, from the Mohawk river to Wood creek, and thence on to the great lakes and the river Ne-ah-ga-ra. That the wise, sagacious and peaceful Iroquois Indian thus used the valley is certain. The valley was not trackless or pathless; for nature had provided highways sufficient, with the Indian's intelligence, to make it attractive and conducive to occupancy by such a nation as the Iroquois for their exceptionally superior traits, and habits of life. We may say then, that nature herself had provided, and the Iroquois paved the way for the utilizing of this channel, this course, in progress and expansion, and onward march of civilization. If the Federation of the six nations had not been in force, but the valley had been occupied by the fierce Adirondacks and other war-like tribes upon the advent of the white men, then, the latter's settlement and development of the same, together with the onward march of civilization would have been delayed at least one hundred years. If, instead of the peaceful and orderly Iroquois, the Dutch from the south, and the French from the north had encountered roving bands of the Aboriginies, such explorations, negotiations and treaties as they made would have been far more difficult, if not indeed, immediately impossible of accomplishment. As it was however, the Dutch explored the valley without molestation, while the French were enabled to penetrate through the Adirondack country to the very heart of the Iroquois country, and negotiate a treaty to permit them to build a fort on the Niagara river, and ships for the great lakes.

In closing this part of my lecture dealing with the Iroquois occupancy of the valley, let me quote from the writer who accompanied La Salle on the expedition when this treaty was made, although its data is considerably later than the actual penetration of the valley by white men.

"It is the year of the Christian era, 1678. The notes I am about to record may never pass under any human eye but mine own, for we are about to undertake a journey full of hazard and mortal peril, into the country of the fierce but noble Iroquois. If perchance they permit us to return with our lives, we will give thanks to the Holy Virgin; and for my part I will be satisfied with the adventure in these western wilds, and ready to return to our sunny France, whence I sometimes fancy I never should have strayed." His experiences however with the kindly native completely dissipated his fears, as the account of his journey, etc., plainly proves.

That the valley of the Mohawk was explored and a map made of the same over a decade before the much vaunted Pilgrim Fathers had set foot on the shores of New England is forgotten or overlooked by many; but it remains a fact, well attested by historical documents. When Capt. Christiansan selected the present site of Albany as a trading post in 1614, "he acted," we are told by Halsey, "by knowledge already acquired concerning its relation to those routes into the Indian country which converged near the confluence of the Mohawk and Hudson rivers." "In that year," continues Halsey, "two men set out from Ft. Orange (Albany) to explore the fur country; and crossing from the Mohawk to Otsego Lake, proceeded down the Susquehanna into Pennsylvania. On the information these men secured, was in part, based that interesting piece of Dutch cartography called the Figurative map which shows the Hudson and Mohawk rivers."

I am myself inclined to think that the first explorers of our valley were men from the ship Tigress, commanded by Capt. Block, which was burnt in New York harbor in 1613, necessitating the whole parties remaining on the island of Manhatten for many months while a new ship was building. It would be most natural for a few roving, ambitious spirits in the party, whose services were not required in building a new ship, to set off on just such a venturesome expedition, instead of idling their time

on a rocky island. Certain it is, that the new ship, "Unrest," started for Holland the following year, first exploring Long Island sound; and what is more, Capt. Block had in his possession the rough draft of a map of the new country. At or near the island which still bears his name, Capt, Block fell in with his friend Capt. Christianesan commanding the ship Fortune, which was about to sail for Holland. Block left his own new ship in command of another navigator, and sailed for Holland with his friend, bearing with him the precious map. On arrival at Holland, the company Block was employed by, caused the map to be drawn in a neater manner, and sent a deputation with it to the Hague, the seat of Government, to negotiate for a license to trade in the newly explored country. I think this is the same map referred to by Halsey though he puts the explorations upon which the map was based a year later than most historians, and seems to overlook the fact that Capt. Christiansan's selecting the site of Albany for a trading post, was undoubtedly based on Block's information given in Long Island sound, and probably talked over and planned while the two were journeying home.

This "figurative map," as it was called, and which I cannot believe was made by any but men from Capt. Block's party, was received in great state at the Hague. To us who love the valley now, it is interesting to read of how this first map of it was received "by twelve high and mighty lords seated around an oval table." The map was spread upon this table, and the countries described and their value as parts of the territories of the Dutch were fully set forth. The Staats General complied with the wishes of the company, and on the 11th of October, 1614, a charter was granted. Without doubt, Capt. Christiansen sailed immediately for New Amsterdam, and the Hudson or North river as it was called. At all events, before the winter had fairly set in, a beginning had been made. The forest on the present site of Albany rang with the ax of the first white settlers at the entrance of the Mohawk Valley, as they began the erection of a fort and prepared to open up trade with the Iroquois.

By the following spring, 1615, the settlement at Albany was well established, and trade active. The so-called "Figurative map," which shows the Mohawk Valley, was found in the archives of the Hague in 1841.

The building of the fort and establishing a trading post or settlement at the present site of Albany in 1614 was the beginning of the use of the Mohawk Valley as a course of progress by the white men. Three hundred years before, the Iroquois began the development of their Federation, which included their occupancy and control of the valley. As we have seen, their wise and statesmanly course for three centuries, had so brought to perfection the peaceful objects of their own treaty, that when the white man first came, the stockades around the native villages began to be abandoned. Now the white man came and erected his fort and formed his village; and while it is true that the motive and object of the Dutch in this course was barter and trade, it was the entering wedge however, by which the Caucasian race was to gain a foothold, next to settle the valley, and finally to use it as a channel through which the ever progressive English were to sweep onward to the development of the middle and extreme west.

For the matter of fifty years after the trading post was established at Albany, there was scarcely any change in the character of the activities of man in the valley. At the post the Dutch traded with the Indian, giving in exchange for valuable furs and pelts, besides trinkets, useful utensils and tools, such as kettles, hatchets and guns, and of course "fire water" with an unsparing hand. Although during these fifty years, very few if any settlements of white men were made in the valley, the native haunts saw strange sights and scenes. Ambitious explorers from both the east and the north penetrated still deeper into the forests. The Dutch to prosecute trade, and the French to explore and make treaties and extend the lines of their New France still further east and south. The Mohawk river was frequently ploughed by the white man's canoe. The Indian trail

over the portage from the Mohawk to Wood Creek was soon discovered and utilized, and journeys east and west, from the Hudson to the great lakes, and vice versa, were not of infrequent occurrence during this evolutionary period of the 17th century.

Just fifty years after the establishing of the Dutch trading post at Albany a political event occurred that had its effect almost immediately upon the white man's occupancy and use of the Mohawk valley: the peaceful capitulation of New Amsterdam to the English marked the beginning of the onward march of European civilization. Up to the time of the passing of New Netherlands into the possession of the English, no attempt had been made at colonizing or settling the fairest spot for that purpose in the bounds of New Netherlands. I cannot find that more than a few straggeling settlers had established themselves in the valley up to this time, and they in close proximity to the fort at Albany. Upon the territory passing into the possession of the British however, emigration began in earnest. The traders continued their business at the post, but hardy pioneers began to push on past the fort, into the valley, desirous of establishing homes on the frontier, rather than engaging in the sordid merchantile pursuits of the buying of furs. These were the ones that began to clear the valley and make it ready for, 1st, stubborn wars and battles for political freedom, and secondly, when the smoke of battle had entirely cleared away, the progressive march of development and civilization, which has gone on ever since; and indeed can quite correctly be said to be continuous at the present.

Patents, as deeds to land were then called, began to be granted with a free hand, and the enterprising holders offered every inducement to settlers to migrate to their tracts, and develop them by the erection of homes, and the establishment of communities. One very noteworthy feature of the settlement and development of the Mohawk Valley at this time, or during this period, is the fact that very few of the settlers came direct from

Europe. They were nearly always the hardy men who had braved the frontier when its borders were nearer the ocean, or who had been born in the older communities. These now pressed on to newer frontiers, while I suppose in a measure, their places were taken by fresh emigrants from the Old World. Dutch families left Manhatten, New Jersey, and the lower Hudson valley, and established new homes in the Mohawk valley. The Palatine Germans who settled here were from an older colony in Pennsylvania. The Scotch-Irish were the only ones, if any, who came direct from the Old World to settle in the valley. As the people from the old settlements pushed on up to our valley, leaving their old haunts to newer arrivals, so it has been ever since. The children of these settlers of our valley, or their grand-children have restlessly moved on still further west, leaving the old homesteads to be occupied by newer arrivals. The Ohio valley was settled by native born Americans, and when that was developed, the ever aggressive American pushed on to the Plains and over the Rockies to the Pacific Coast, while the (by this time) large element of foreigners have tarried for a generation or two in the valleys developed by the frontiersman.

All of the forces and conditions contributory to the settlement and development of the valley cannot be touched upon or even enumerated in a lecture like this; but the slow but sure development and growth went slowly on for a hundred years after the transfer of the country to England, so that by the middle of the 18th century the communities and homes in the valley were numerous and strong enough to admit of levying for troops for service in the French and Indian wars. The quota of troops raised in the settlements here for this purpose were numerous. Halsey, one of the latest, and a generally reliable historian, in his book "the old New York frontier," gives the particulars of this.

Another factor too, in the extension of the borders of settlements and strengthening those already established, was the new method adopted by the fur traders. This trade, established as

we have seen, by the Dutch in 1614, proved as lucrative one hundred years afterwards to the English, as it had to the worthy inceptors. But as the valley became more peopled with settlers of extensive and permanent ambitions, agriculturally, the Indians were not so eager to bring their furs to Albany, nor was it so easy to get the furs. Two reasons there were for this. First, the opening of the settlements along the valley, necessarily diminished the game, driving the native obtainers of it, further back from the original area of supply. And secondly Sir William Penn of Pennsylvania fame, began to draw trade from the valley his way, through the Susquehanna valley. To meet these two threatening conditions the English traders, with headquarters at New York and Albany, determined to send agents into the fartherest recesses of the fur country to look after and obtain the trade that was thus slipping away from them. They were like the later aggressive commercial establishments which inaugurated the system of "commercial traveling" to drum up trade.

This course of action on the part of the traders brought some men into the valley, who were not only well adapted to carrying out the direct purpose in view, but also proved wise and sagacious developers of the soil itself. Among the men attracted to the valley was a native of Ireland (of whose local fame it would be superfluous for me to attempt to speak). Of all the fur traders sent into the fur country, Sir William Johnson was the most successful, both as a trader and settler and developer of the valley. So much so, that he remains to-day a conspicuous figure in the history of our country. I do not speak of his personal character. His ability as a wise manager of the work entrusted to him, his tactful dealings with the Indians, his shrewd investments in lands, his cultured deportment with the members of his own race, and adaptation of their ways when with the Indians, and many treaties with them, particularly the Fort Stanwix treaty, together with the symbol of justice with which he marked his every step, all mark him as a remarkable

man, possessed of a statesmanship and diplomacy that cannot be gainsaid or denied.

His influence and course of action had much to do with the development of the valley during this period. He was not only himself a founder of an enduring community, but his obtaining rights to land, and treaty rights for others, accelerated the already steady development of the whole region. In 1768 he negotiated the Fort Stanwix treaty which enabled the settlers to continue their course westward, to further subdue and tame nature's domains. Soon after this last important act of his, he passed away, and ere long the dogs of war were let loose in the valley. From 1777 at the battle of Oriskany and the siege of Ft. Stanwix to the last battle their howling virbrated from one end of the valley to the other.

The period of the war of the Revolution can hardly be said to have been one of development; yet in one way it was. The once powerful Iroquois had become, with the encroachments of the settlements in the valley, the frontiersman's bitter enemy, and treacherous foe. Incited by the British, and the Tories who had left the valley at the outbreak of the war, they sought to regain their whilom control, by pillage, assault and battle. The success of the revolutionary cause, together with the gallant part taken in local conflicts by the settlers themselves, compelled the Iroquois to see that they could never regain the valley, as they never regained their lost prestige, which went out with the close of the revolution. It remains to-day only in the dim memory of their admirers, preserved in verse and glowing sonnet and tributes of admiring historians and writers. This final ending of the "golden age" of the Iroquois, the original users of the valley as a channel of human progress, is one of the sad and touching pages in our American history.

The period following the Revolutionary War could be called one of reconstruction in a way. Save at Oriskany and Saratoga the devastating character of war, however, was not much in evidence. The advent of peace, together with the indelible

lesson learnt by the red men that their tenure of the valley had ceased forever, marked the beginning of another period of remarkable progress, and the renewal of the tide of civilization flowing into and ultimately on through the natural channel of the valley. Here again the history of a generation before was repeated. The many new settlers who came into the valley after the close of the war, were mostly native Americans. Emigration began to flow from New England, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. One of the things that had much to do with this was the pleasant recollections many of the Continental soldiers had of the valley, when they campaigned here. Many a hardy veteran went back to his home in New England and brought his family here to settle. Many of the young bachelors of the army returned to their former haunts, and sweethearts and marrying, sought with their brides a home in the valley of the Mohawk. Among the many who emigrated from New England and founded a community was Hugh White. He came from Connecticut in 1784, and settled and founded the town of Whitesboro. There were many others, but he was the earliest, and as Halsey says, was the "leader of a conquering band that was soon to follow him." Such settlers were scattered all the way from Sir William Johnson's original settlements to that fartherest boundary, the establishment of which was the closing act of his life, viz., Fort Stanwix and its treaty. As early as 1785 a party from Connecticut settled at this head of the valley, around the old fort over which the stars and stripes were first raised in the face of enemy but eight years before. Until the close of the century, the influx of people from the older and more established colonies was tremendous. Halsey says ten thousand are believed to have arrived in Herkimer County alone. The ancestors of many of the present citizens of the valley came to the country during these last fifteen years of the 18th century. My own ancestors from three families came to the valley during this period. Many were from New Hampshire and Vermont. But by far the greater number came from Connecticut. Indeed it is a noteworthy fact that the largest percentage of the new recruits came from the "Nutmeg" State.

The valley now took on, not a new life, but a different one, which can be called another step in the progress and development. It was fast ceasing to bear the character it had borne for a hundred years, when it was dotted only, with settlements and clearings. The emigration was so pronounced, the people so numerous, and families so increasing, that settlements were no longer isolated. The forests left intervening between the old settlements fell before the ax of the reinforced frontiersman, communities were multiplied, farms formed, streams dammed and mills built; and the whole began to bear the semblance of substantial permanent and extensive improvement.

I must not pass over one class of men who did much to make the valley tenable to settlers at this time, and for a quarter of a century afterwards. They were aiders and promoters of civilization in their own way. I refer to that peculiar but admirable class of men, who, like Esau of Bible times were "mighty hunters before the Lord." These hardy men, tough and enduring constitutionally, as hickory, the successors of the Indian in hunting and trapping, rendered great service to the residents of the valley as the population increased, by their incessant trapping and hunting all kinds of game and varlets, as the old English word well applies to them in their regard of the lawful prey which was theirs. Conspicuous among this class of men who settled at Johnstown, were Nicholas Stoner, Jonathan Wright and Nathaniel Foster. The Fosters emigrated from New Hampshire soon after the war, the father being moved to do this for the same reason so many soldiers did, and which I have noted; their recollections of the attractiveness of the country. Stoner and Foster formed an early acquaintance, and were lifelong friends. The bounties offered by the towns for the killing of wolves, bears and panthers were generally large enough to make it an object to this class of men to devote a large share of their time and energies to the destruction of these animals. To prove how effective was their work in keeping down to a minimum the losses that accrued to the settlers from this source, I need to relate but one incident. The people of the town of

Salisbury, Herkimer County, where Foster located after his marriage, felt at one time that the tax to pay these bounties was becoming too burdensome, and voted a great reduction in the prices to be paid for wolf tails, panther heads and bear paws; whereat the hunters formed what might be called to-day a trust conspiracy, and purposely let the destructive animals alone, turning their attention to other game. But a few seasons served to show the freeholders that they had made a grave mistake. The wild animals markedly increased, and their destructive work on sheep folds, pig stys, etc., multiplied. A farmer of the town who had been one of the chief agitators for a reduction of bounties, stopped Foster one day, and began to tell him of his troubles and losses occasioned by wolves destroying a large number of his sheep the night before. After listening to his tale of woe for a few moments, Foster interrupted him to say, "Wal, I don't know as I can pity you, if you ain't willing to pay me for protecting your sheep, you must buy traps and protect 'em yourself." It is needless to say that the town was not long in voting a restoration of the high bounties. They were a hardy race of men, whose devotion to their avocation was perhaps prompted, at least kept active, by an instinct of nature and love for the same. They rendered their service, to the advancement of civilization, in their own way, and it was both valuable and effective.

We have now reached the 19th century. The development, progress and advancement in the valley, was in keeping with the same in the country at large. We might regard the enterprises of the early part of the century as the "days of small things," as indeed they were, as compared to the achievements of the latter part, which are well within the memory of the present generation. Yet these to us, small enterprises and achievements were not so to the generation of people attaining them. Turnpikes were built the entire length of the valley. In fact the entire distance, from Albany to Buffalo. Soon the rattle of coach and chaise were heard all through the valley, over these artificial highways, and passengers were carried from one point

to another, at the very moderate rates for those days, five cents a mile, Halsey tells us being the regular passenger tariff. These turnpikes were fostered by the state, but developed by private enterprise. They proved thoroughly paying ventures from the start, and continued so for nearly half a century, the profits accruing from the stage lines, and from tolls gathered from other users of the roads. There being fixed tariffs for one horse and vehicle, two horses and vehicle, four and six horses and vehicle, and for droves of sheep, cattle, etc. The first, and to date, only State enterprise to provide continuous and public routes for travel and commerce, was conceived in the fertile brain of DeWitt Clinton and through his efforts the main one was carried out, opening through the valley a very valuable aid to its progress. "Clinton's ditch," as it was ironically called, at the time of its inception, construction and first half century's maintenance, was a very valuable and effective means of development of the whole territory, and intensified the fact of the valleys being a channel of progress and civilization. Before the abolishment of its tolls, the Erie Canal contributed to the State millions of dollars, far more than has ever yet been expended in its maintenance or improvement since the abolishment of tolls. It is said now that it acts as a regulator of freight rates, though if it contributes to the public in this indirect way sufficient to cover the expenses incurred in the patronage system of its management I know not.

The building of the Erie Canal through the Mohawk Valley, the most natural route that could be followed, accelerated its development, and was the route followed by thousands of both foreign and native people, seeking new homes in the middle west. The impressions of these people too, in traveling on the canal through the valley, could not but have been pleasing and lasting. From the packet's cabin the valley could be seen to the best advantage. Even the former Indian character was impressed upon the minds of those who passed through the valley, by the names of places along the route. An amusing story of such an impression was told me by a friend who was a Ger-

man Lutheran pastor for some time in Indiana. In his congregation was an old German who told him of his journey to the middle West, after arriving in New York. He said he and his family came by water most of the way, and that they stopped for some time at an Indian town in New York State named Schenna-ca-da-ty. His pastor unable to recall any such town as this in New York State, told his parishioner he must be mistaken, whereat the old gentleman got a map, and triumphantly pointed out to his pastor the city of Schenectady.

After the Erie Canal came the railroads. How remote the inception and construction of these two great means of transportation seem to the present generation? Yet taking again the liberty of using my own family as an illustration, we can see how but one generation intervene. My grandfather was taken as a boy to see the first barge pass through Utica on the canal on its way to New York, and my mother made a trip on the railroad the first season it was opened east from Utica.

The latest means of transportation has forged ahead by leaps and bounds, until now, with the Empire State Express and the Twentieth Century Limited, it seems as if the climax had been reached. Indeed one cannot see how it can be surpassed, unless by aerial methods.

With the canal and railroad came other developments in the valley, all contributory to advancing civilization. First there was the growth of cities; from Schenectady, the first after Albany, to Rome at the extreme western end. Second, there was a steady increase and grouping of industrial plants and manufactories that attended the development of the valley, even in the 18th century. The valley is now plentifully besprinkled with these contributories to our present order of civilization. There are the textile industries at Utica and Little Falls, the copper and brass industries at Rome, the typewriter factories at Ilion, gloves at Johnstown and Gloversville, and probably the greatest of them all, being the plants at Schenectady, for the production of machinery used in the two great energies, steam and

electricity. Also in speaking of the latter day enterprises in the valley, contributory to our present civilization, I must not forget to mention that seat of learning at the last named place—Union College, which has trained and prepared many a man for a bright professional career.

The close of the 19th century and the dawn of the 20th, then, saw the valley, we might say, fully and completely developed, as a channel of progress and civilization. Begun when the Iroquois framed their treaty and compact among themselves, about the year 1300, the conditions continued to progress for three hundred years under the regime of these superior Indians. The advent of the Caucasian saw a change in the regime, but the same slow but sure progress to which many nationalities contributed. And not the least by any means, ultimately the most aggressive, the peculiarly new nationality, the American. The war whoop of the Indian had about ceased when the white man came. The latter's war din extended over the short period of but a few years. The progress has been uninterrupted and constant since.

A brief glance at the valley as a channel of civilization in the present, and I must close. This opening decade of the 20th century finds the valley as prominent a channel of progress and civilization as any in the country, if indeed not the greatest, which later is my personal opinion, though perhaps accounted for, in my love and attachment for it.

Here we have the fertile farms, no longer contributing to the sustence of the local population merely, but contributing a vast amount of produce for the country at large; not the least among such produce being tinned vegetables of all description; and a constant stream of the lacteal fluid direct to the Metropolis. Here are the innumerable varieties of manufactories, already referred to, producing the standard locomotive and the latest style of automobile, providing clothing for both the body and hands, and a notable and long established plant, producing one of the standard machines, the typewriter, used in the commercial

world over the entire civilized globe, More than this, the valley is the main route of travel and transportation to the far West, and also the far East. And if, with the aggressiveness of the American, the claims that are advanced by some, that we are going to "civilize" the far East, then be sure my friends, that that civilization will flow through the Mohawk Valley, over the line that is noted for its superlative aggressiveness and enterprise that is of a commercial character. The Rectory where I live is situated very close to the N. Y. C. R. R. The frequent passing of trains, the rush of the express, the rumble of the fast freight, and rattle of slow freight, almost incessant, is an annoyance to one unaccustomed to it. It is more pronounced of course in the summer when the doors and windows are open. Many times has a clerical friend sat visiting with me in my study, ordinarily composed, but over whose face a look of annoyance has passed, when the Empire State has gone by, with a shriek and a roar. Or perhaps he gives a start, as some mogule engine with its ninety-nine cars and caboose has become stalled in the vicinity, and puffing and snorting in vain endeavors to start, at last gives an ear splitting shriek from its whistle, for the engine from the "yard" to come to its assistance. Then perhaps he will exclaim, "Curtiss, how can you stand it? It is insufferable." When with the blandest smile possible, I will tell him, I gain some comfort and consider it a privilege to have the opportunity I have, of viewing constantly the traffic as carried on on the main artery of commerce and civilization in the Western Hemisphere. But enough of anecdotes.

In some such way as I have spoken of in this lecture, my friends, do I consider the Mohawk Valley to be a channel of civilization. The development and use of it has extended over hundreds of years, until now it is positively one of the most important and conspicuous. But do not think the zenith of power, influence and order of civilization has been reached, here or elsewhere. I cannot believe that it has. The human race is yet in its infancy in these respects. Greater and grander

achievements, progress and power is before us. Superior order of civilization even to our own awaits the generations yet unborn, that will make our present and our past infinitesimal and small. Progress is read in every age of the human race. And the same progress is becoming more intensified, more rapid and pronounced with each century. Witness the achievements in the valley during the 19th century, as compared to those before. Indeed, we no longer keep tally of progress by centuries, but by decades.

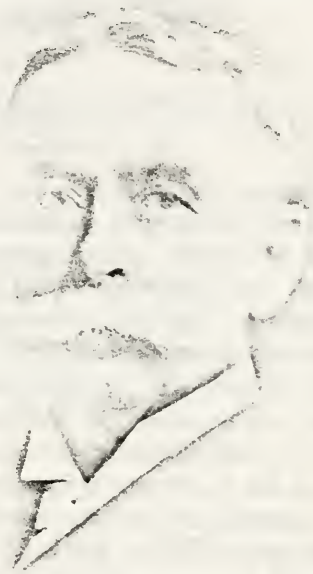
"What hath God wrought" was the first message flashed over the wire by the Morse system of telegraphy. How often has that expression been repeated by reflective men since at each new discovery, advance and application of science. As all men are endowed by the Creator with a like soul, ever unfolding, ever beckoning on to nobler and higher achievements, so, the human race will yet progress to an order and civilization that will bring about what we call the millenium, and which I believe in, when men will dwell together in absolute peace and harmony, each under his own vine and his own fig tree. And believe me, the Mohawk Valley will contribute its share, and take its place in that progress of civilization to be unfolded in the dim and distant future.

Mr. President and members, the channel of civilization in the Mohawk Valley was also opened up when the battle of Oriskany was fought and won, by brave old Gen. Herkimer and his soldiers. Amid the horrid din of savage warfare, and savage butchery, your ancestors and mine fought undismayed the battles of the Revolution. It was here that the first great blow was struck to prevent the subjugation of the American colonies. St. Leger was to proceed by the way of Oswego to the Mohawk Valley, conquer the colonists here, and then march on to Albany and join Gen. Burgoyne and his army, who were to proceed to Albany by way of Lake Champlain. Sir Henry Clinton

was to go to Albany with his forces, by way of the Hudson river, to join Burgoyne and St. Leger. By this campaign they intended to cut off New York and New England from the colonists in the south, and at the same time crush out the spirit of liberty among the colonists in the north.

The expedition failed, for when St. Leger reached the Mohawk Valley he was forced to encounter the brave soldiers of Col. Peter Gansevoort, who was then in command at Fort Stanwix. There a successful defence of the post against the British troops under St. Leger was made, this being the first blow to their great scheme to sever New York from the remainder of the confederacy. When St. Leger, Sir John Johnson and Joseph Brant, the great Mohawk chief, marched upon Fort Stanwix, and demanded its surrender, Col. Gansevoort sent out a detachment of 250 men, under Lieut. Col. Marinus Willett, and they destroyed the intrenchments of the enemy, captured the British camp equipage, and carried away their flags. They were brought to the fort, and over them floated the flag of the United States, borne by the Third New York Infantry. This was the first flag raised in battle by the Americans against the English, and its blue field was made of the military cloak of Captain Swartwout. An original letter relating to this cloak is in possession of Mrs. Catherine Gansevoort Lansing of Albany, the grand-daughter of Col. Peter Gansevoort. A copy of the same is in the museum of The Oneida Historical Society, Utica, N. Y.

Without further remarks, Mr. President, I move a vote of thanks to Rev. Mr. Curtiss for his most interesting paper, and request that a copy of it be left with us to place among our archives.



SAMUEL L. PARRISH.

COLONIZATION AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN THE TROPICS.

Paper Read Before The Oneida Historical Society of Utica, N. Y., on October 12, 1903.

By Samuel L. Parrish, of New York City.

To anyone at all inclined toward philosophic reflection there can be found no more fascinating employment for the mind than the study of the underlying causes which lead to the supremacy and decay of States. But in tracing from their source the rivulets and streams of tendency until they combine to make the mighty current that is ever hurrying on to the vast ocean of human failure and accomplishment, the student of history must be continually on guard lest he confound the eddies and the whirlpools with the direction of the current itself.

In this paper I propose to confine myself, so far as possible, to the observation of what I conceive to be the current.

When, however, on May 1st, 1898, the American navy, in a few hours, had annihilated forever the power of Spain in the far eastern hemisphere, it was, I think, evident, even to the wayfaring man, that one of the great turning points in history had been reached. For then it was that the American people, literally over night and without warning, found themselves confronted with the most intricately interlaced colonial and domestic problems that any nation, without antecedent thought or preparation, has ever been called upon to solve.

Suddenly, against our will, and in direct opposition to our traditional policy, well settled since the foundation of the government, we then became unquestionable a so-called world power, of necessity exposed to the dangers, and subject to the obligations, which are implied in the name.

Well do we all remember the excitement following the arrival of the news of the victory in Manila Bay. Outside of a few dealers in cigars and traders in hemp, there was hardly one man in ten, if so many, at that time in the United States, to whom the Philippine Islands were anything more than a vague geographical expression.

Maps and encyclopedias were, however, forthwith hastily consulted, and in a few days it became known to millions of bewildered American citizens that the United States of America had become responsible before the civilized world for the future disposition of about eight millions of Asiatics, ranging from a condition of barbarism to that of semi-civilization, inhabiting a tropical country divided into some fifteen hundred islands, with an area somewhat larger than the whole of New England and the States of New York and New Jersey combined.

History can be searched in vain for even a remote parallel to the situation which then rapidly developed before the astonished gaze of the American people, and, as our knowledge of the actual conditions increased, the greater became our perplexity as to the wisest course to pursue.

We were an agricultural, industrial, and commercial republic, essentially peaceful in character, aim and purpose and anxious only to develop our own magnificent domain, within the temperate zone, on our own lines, apart from the political and territorical rivalries of the rest of the world.

Our system of government was moreover founded upon certain principles of political liberty which the uninterrupted experience of mankind had demonstrated as possible only to a certain highly favored section of the Caucasian race, but, in spite of all, the fact remained that as the result of the Spanish war we became the unwilling but imperative guardians of millions of the helpless children of the tropics.

Their ignorance of our more recent history, and reformed institutions, made them but too ready to believe that we came to them only in a spirit of insolent conquest, to repeat on Phil-

ippine soil the shameful story of Cortez and Pizarro in Mexico and Peru. Nor were there wanting among the leaders and men of education, first of Spanish and, later, after the fall of Spain, of Malay blood, those who with some show of reason, pointed to our treatment of the North American Indian as a dreadful warning of the fate they themselves might expect, should the heretic sovereignty of the United States be finally proclaimed, and permanently maintained, in the Philippine Islands.*

These sentiments, born of a natural ignorance of our intentions, and an entirely comprehensible fear of the unknown, spread like wildfire throughout the archipelago, both before and after the fall of Spain. Hysterically excited, as these fears were, by the proclamations of the Spanish civil governors, and by the eloquent and pathetic allocutions from the clergy to the people, no less than by a certain section of the American press, as well as by no small number of our own public men of high character and sincere conviction, whose utterances were translated into the native dialects and spread broadcast throughout the Islands, it would have been strange indeed had American sovereignty in the Philippine Islands been accepted without a struggle.

But it is not my purpose here to-night to pass in review the events connected with our late war in the Philippines, nor yet to enter into any discussion of the various phases of administrative detail which have accompanied the wonderful, and essentially successful, efforts of the Taft Commission to bring orderly government out of the political chaos which prevailed in the Philippine archipelago when first we took possession. Suffice it to say that from my study of the reports of the Commission, with the array of facts therein simply and unostentatiously set forth, I believe that in the whole range of colonial administration throughout the world, there is no equal record of so much constructive work of the highest order accom-

*See Appendix.

plished in so short a time in the face of such apparently insurmountable difficulties.

Leaving aside, however, all questions of detail, let me now invite your attention to the consideration of certain broad principles of governmental policy which, in my judgment, must be recognized and adhered to, whatever party may be in power in our own country, if our present, and it may well be future, tropical colonial problems are to be successfully solved.

If you will take a map of the world, or better still a terrestial globe, and girdle the earth with the parallel lines of the 30th degrees of north and south latitude, you will have contained therein what is generally known as the "heat belt," wherein the average mean temperature throughout the year is 68° Fahrenheit. Within this belt, enclosed by the lines running about twenty-three and a half degrees north and south, lie the tropics proper, with a much higher mean temperature. Beyond, on each side, north and south, up and down to the 30th degrees, lies a zone somewhat loosely called the sub-tropics. Within this sub-tropical territory climatic conditions are for the most part sufficiently similar to the tropics to make such generalizations, if correct, as hereinafter follow, approximately applicable. The enervating character of the climate, combined with the bounty of nature, which supplies the limited wants of the natives, in return for little labor, has from time immemorial produced a population within these zones essentially inefficient as compared with that of the temperate zone. Taking then the whole heat belt as a starting point, an inspection of the map will disclose, speaking broadly, the following geographical facts:

Within this belt, in the western hemisphere, will be found most of the peninsula of Florida, the West India Islands, Mexico, Central America and the territorial bulk of South America.

In the eastern hemisphere lie practically the whole of Africa, the extreme north and south being alone excluded, a large part

of Arabia, southern Persia, Baluchistan, nearly the whole of India, Burmah, Siam, and the Malay Peninsula, French Indo China, southern China, the islands of the Indian Ocean, including the Philippines, and Oceanica, those myriad islands of the Pacific, embracing Hawaii. To this vast domain should be added, in the southern hemisphere, northern Australia. The Philippine Islands lie entirely within the tropics proper.

The objective point of my address this evening will be the development, of necessity in barest outline, of the four following propositions in connection with the future orderly progress of this vast area of human activity.

First. That the importance of the tropics in their relations to the temperate zone is constantly increasing.

Second. That colonialization from the temperate zone (with certain exceptions), of a character to appreciably alter present racial conditions in the tropics, is a negligible quantity. If this be true it follows that labor unions in the temperate zone, except from altruistic motives, need not concern themselves with the labor problems of the tropics.

Third. That experience has shown that stable government, carrying with it the impartial administration of justice and equal protection of the law to all classes of inhabitants, is impossible in the tropics if left in the hands of an indigenous population, without supervision.

Fourth. That controlling economic conditions, external and internal, no less than moral obligation, will increasingly compel the United States, as potentially, if not actually, the most powerful of the civilized nations, to bear its full share in the system of dependent tropical goverment and supervision now recognized as an international factor of unquestioned and growing importance.

In considering the first point, namely, the growing importance of the tropics, I will for the sake of historical sequence, call your attention to the fact that the tropics were practically unknown to the civilized nations of antiquity. The Roman Empire, rela-

tively the most extensive and powerful political combination known to the ancient or modern world, was never successfully extended (outside the narrow valley of the Nile and adjacent territory) to the south of the 30th degree of north latitude. The invasion of India by Alexander the Great was evidently undertaken more in a spirit of military bravado than with any settled plan of permanent conquest. Both the Roman Empire and that of Alexander were consolidations of contiguous territory practically within the temperate zone, separated only by inland seas. The economic requirements of the time did not encourage, nor the naval and military strategic conditions permit the continuous supervision of distant provinces in the tropics.

But with the dawn of the modern era the whole scene changes. For then it was that civilized man, in discovering a new hemisphere, and vastly enlarging his knowledge of the old, made a still more important contribution to the forces of civilization in that he discovered also himself. To recite the triumphs of the Renaissance in literature, science, and art is beyond the scope of this address, but as germane to the subject in hand it may be said that at the end of the 15th century, there was inaugurated, for the first time in history, the system under which we are now living, whereby the Caucasian deliberately set before himself the task of dominating, directly or indirectly, every corner of the earth's surface which by its products could in any way add to the wealth and prosperity of the temperate zone. And into this vortex of competition for control the United States has at last been unwillingly, though irresistibly drawn, for the relentless force of economic conditions, backed by a sense of moral responsibility, respects neither tradition nor sentiment, nor, ultimately, should it stand in the way, even the written law itself.

The story of the initial struggle for world supremacy among the European nations, though a familiar one, is so fascinating that it may well bear repeating here, at least in outline.

At the time of the discovery of America, and the passage to the Indies around the Cape of Good Hope, or comparatively soon thereafter, there were in the world just five civilized, con-

solidated, maritime, powers capable of taking part in the approaching struggle, namely, Spain, Portugal, Holland, France and England.

Germany and Italy, hopelessly divided for the most part into insignificant and continuously warring states, were, for the purposes of world aggression, merely geographical expressions, and Russia, as known to-day, did not exist. Spain and Portugal were the first in the race, and through the genius and daring of their native and adopted navigators and adventurers, had, in an incredibly short space of time, brought under the flags of their respective countries, at least prospectively, the whole of the tropical world in the western, and no small part of that in the eastern hemisphere. Later on came the Dutch, establishing themselves, first as traders and then as sovereigns, in the most important of the large islands of the Indian ocean, and there they remain to-day. Strange as it may now seem, France and England were the laggards in the race and when they woke up to what was going on around them, they discovered that most of the undeveloped tropical world, then considered of value, had already been appropriated by the three other powers.

But without going further into particulars, or detaining you with details, it will be sufficient to point out that with many intermediate changes of ownership as the result of war, there are to-day, of the original five maritime European nations, practically only three left, namely England, France, and Holland, which undertake to administer the government of a tropical country from the temperate zone. And of these three it may be said that the one vigorous, competent, and expanding survivor is England.

With the consolidation of Italy and Germany, thirty odd years ago, two new European powers have been added to the list of factors to be reckoned with in the solution of the colonial problems of the world. But of these it is evident that the part to be played by Italy must necessarily be modest, while the advent of the powerful and aggressive empire of Germany adds enormously to the complications which must be encountered in the impending further division, in one form or another, of

the tropical world among the civilized nations of the temperate zone. Of Russia it may be said that up to the present time her resources, international complications, and geographical position have been such as to wisely lead her to confine her energies to the development of her vast empire by the consolidation of contiguous territory within the temperate zone. In this respect she follows the example of the Roman Empire and that of Alexander the Great, and calmly bides her time for a descent upon the tropics by way of India, China, and the Persian Gulf.

In view, however, of the necessary limits of this paper it will be impossible to further pursue the historical side of the evolution of the political and territorial relations of the temperate zone to the tropics within the past four hundred years.

I must also, for the same reason, forego any attempt to trace through the centuries their economic relations from the time when silver and gold and spices were poured from the tropics into the lap of Europe, mostly by way of Spain, down to the more prosaic present, when tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, india rubber, and a dozen other important articles of commerce form the chief staples of tropical export to the temperate zone.

To establish my first proposition, as directly indicating present conditions, I must now, however, invite your attention to some recent very significant and instructive, if somewhat dry, statistics:

The following figures are taken from a very interesting small volume by Mr. Benjamin Kidd, published about five years ago, and called "The Control of the Tropics," wherein the author has called attention to the enormous actual and relative value of the combined trade of the United States and the United Kingdom with the tropics:

Trade of the United States in 1895 with the tropics	$346,000,000
With the English-speaking world (not including the British tropics)	657,000,000
Total with the tropics and English-speaking world	$1,003,000,000

With the rest of the world 535,000,000

Gross total $1,538,000,000

If we take the combined trade of the two great trading nations of the world, we have the following tabulated result:

United Kingdom trade with the tropics..... $690,000,000
United States trade with the tropics 346,000,000

Total $1,036,000,000

Combined trade of the United States and the United Kingdom with the remainder of the world outside English-speaking lands $2,365,000,000

From the above tables you will note that the trade of the United States with the tropics is more than three fifths of its entire foreign trade with the rest of the world, outside of the English speaking countries, and that the combined tropical trade of the United Kingdom and the United States amounts to nearly one half of their whole trade with the rest of the world, outside of what they transact within their own borders, and with each other, and the English speaking colonies situated in the temperate zone.

From an able and interesting article by Mr. O. P. Austin, the chief of the National Bureau of Statistics at Washington, which appeared in "The Forum" of June, 1902, under the title of "Our Growing Dependence upon the Tropics," I extract the following short but significant statement:

U. S. Tropical imports in 1870—157 millions or 36 per cent. of all imports.

U. S. Tropical imports in 1901—414 millions or 47 per cent. of all imports.

From 1870 to 1901 the increase in U. S. population was 100 per cent.

From 1870 to 1901 the increase in U. S. tropical imports was 165 per cent., while the increase is non-tropical imports from all other parts of the world was 65 per cent.

I have no desire, however, to further weary you with statistical tables. The above figures will, I think, have sufficient-

ly demonstrated the first of the four points above set forth, namely, the increasing commercial importance of the tropics in their relations to the temperate zone, so far at least as the United States and the United Kingdom are concerned.

Coming now to the second point, namely, the impossibility of colonizing the tropics by white immigration on a scale of sufficient magnitude to affect local industrial conditions, I would call your attention to the few following facts as instructive examples of the truth of this general statement.

According to the Philippine Gazetteer, recently issued by the War Department, there were in the City of Manila, on May 1st, 1901, 2,382 Spaniards out of a total population of about 245,000. Manila being the centering point for the trading class, it would seem therefore an exaggerated estimate to place the resident Spanish population throughout the Islands, after a political denomination of over three hundred years, at over one-half of one per cent. In the Dutch East Indies, the resident Dutch population seems to be even less. In India the proportion of resident European whites to the whole population is probably considerably less than one-tenth of one per cent. In Venezuela, the Encyclopedia Britannica gives a pure Caucasian population of about one per cent. In Jamaica it would appear to be about two per cent. In Mexico, owing to climatic conditions resulting from the lofty table land formation, about fifteen per cent. In sub-tropical South Africa, this table land formation, combined with the discovery of gold and precious stones, must also be noted as a condition permitting and inviting development of the country by the presence of the white man in large numbers. As being in a class by themselves, I will reserve Cuba and Porto Rico for separate consideration. Speaking then in a general way, it would seem that the above figures fully sustain the second of the four propositions hereinbefore advanced. Experience has taught the white man that he cannot do manual labor under the usual conditions prevailing in tropical countries, and therefore he avoids them.

In approaching the consideration of the third point, name-

ly, the impossibility of efficient and stable government in the tropics, without supervision from the temperate zone, I feel that I am treading on somewhat delicate ground, especially in view of the experiment, somewhat restricted though it be, now being tried in the neighboring island of Cuba.

In view of the fact that the American people are likely to be greatly influenced in their opinion of the possibility of *quasi* independent tropical self-government by the result of the Cuban experiment, it becomes important to examine with some care into the antecedents of the present inhabitants of the island. It must then be remembered that when Cuba was discovered by Columbus it was inhabited by an indigenous American Indian race, to which was given the name of Carib. Unlike the North American Indian these people were simple minded, mild mannered, and altogether harmless. But not over fifty years had elapsed from the time the Spaniards first set foot on Cuban soil before the whole race had been practically exterminated. Following this indigenous population came men of Spanish blood, with the usual concomitant, as in our own Southern States, of African slavery. The peculiar adaptation of the soil for the cultivation of exceptionally valuable crops of sugar and tobacco, combined with the salubrious climate of the island, has enabled the white man of southern European stock to at least live, if not thrive, in this tropical environment. What his capacity for self-government may be remains to be seen, but I submit, that, under the circumstances, the political and industrial situation in both Cuba and Porto Rico (the racial history of the latter being practically the same as the former) should but slightly, if at all, affect our judgment in regard to other tropical countries still inhabited by the indigenous races.

In attempting to forecast the future we must of necessity have recourse to the lessons of the past, tempering our judgment by such modifications as changing conditions may seem to justify.

In an examination, however, of governmental conditions, which, from time immemorial have existed in the tropics I can

find no instance of orderly self-government, with representative institutions, evolved from the people themselves. Nor, on the other hand, have the efforts made by England in recent times to introduce responsible self-government in her tropical dependencies given any encouragement that the issue of such experiments will prove successful. The mental, moral, and economic factors are all at variance with the conditions required for an orderly, self-governing, community. Of the millions of men who now occupy, and of the untold millions, who, since recorded time, have been the indigenous inhabitants of the tropics, I think it may be safely said that no one commanding figure, judged by world standards, has ever emerged from the mass to challenge the admiration of the world as a benefactor of mankind.

The one exception that occurs to me, somewhat ominous though it be, is Mohammed, born just under the tropic of Cancer. What his influence for good or evil may have been, or now is, I cannot at present attempt to inquire. Gautama was born in the sub-tropics, at the foot of the Himalaya mountains. Confucius was the product of the temperate zone.

But in art and science, literature and law, in constructive statesmanship, and in the scientific regulation of the relations of men toward each other in all the complexities which go to make up what is known as civilized society, we must look, with two or three interesting primitive exceptions in the sub-tropics, to the inhabitants of the temperate zone alone for the accomplishment of valuable results.

For the creation of a self-governing community, in which the rights of all classes shall be respected, I conceive there are necessary at least four precedent conditions:

1. A general recognition of the dignity of manual labor.

2. The existence of an intelligent public opinion, as a court of final appeal, whose mandate must be obeyed.

3. A willingness on the part of the minority to submit, without question, to the will of the majority as legally expressed at the polls.

4. The existence of an incorruptible judiciary to impartially administer the law in the interest of the weak no less than in that of the strong.

The limits of this paper will not permit an examination in detail into these four sub-propositions, but I submit that not even the most ardent advocate of self-government in the tropics can successfully maintain that any of these four precedent conditions, either separately or in combination, now exist, or, within any appreciable time, are likely to exist among the indigenous inhabitants of the tropics.

With a full recognition of the incompleteness with which, through lack of time, I have been compelled to treat the first three main propositions hereinbefore set forth, I now come to the fourth, namely, the development of the future relations of the United States with the tropics.

Of this question it may be said that since our Civil War none so vital has confronted the American people, and in the course of its solution may well be found practically all the future danger points which must ever beset a progressive nation in the conduct of its political relations with the rest of the world.

Before proceeding, however, let me say that I approach the subject in no so-called jingo spirit, but rather with a sincere desire to offer suggestions which shall be based upon what I conceive to be the true interest of the tropical peoples themselves.

In considering the development of inter-racial relations between the dominant and inferior races, during the past century, one cannot but be impressed by the fact that the current has been distinctly in the direction of altruism.

Slavery has been abolished throughout Christendom, and oppression, injustice, and internecine strife have, more and more, been giving place to orderly government throughout the tropical dependencies ruled from the temperate zone.

Warren Hastings would be a grotesque anacronism in the India of to-day, while venal Spanish colonial governors in

Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines already seem to belong to a by-gone age.

Powerful as was the factor of self protection in our late war with Spain, a sense of moral obligation alone made that war popular.

But in considering the moral we must not forget the economic side of the question.

As we note the progress of society through its various stages of evolution, there is nothing more striking than the constantly increasing importance, during the past fifty years, of the economic phase of international relations. In the presence of the mighty forces of nature which the genius of man has so recently enlisted upon his side in his struggle for existence, conditions have been created which so alter and modify these relations that it is difficult for us to adjust ourselves to the new order of things.

Wealth is but the surplus product of man's conquest of nature, and to what extent that has been accomplished within the life time of the youngest member of this audience is a matter within the common knowledge of us all.

But the source of all this superabundant energy and resultant accomplishment has been in the temperate zone, and now, as never before, it seeks outlets in the furthest corners of the earth. With the vast increase in the wealth of the dominant races, an ever increasing demand is being made upon every heretofore outlying province of the world to furnish whatever it can best produce, and receive in return therefor the products of the temperate zone.

And if for any reason this production and consumption are retarded by internal disorder, or conditions that science or skill can remedy, then these northern cormorants for economic results insist upon furnishing the remedy.

Within our own time the earth has, for all practical purposes of intercommunication, immeasurably shrivelled and has, in very fact, become a vast "whispering gallery" wherein the slightest sound which tends either to menace its peace or pro-

...te its prosperity is heard with the celerity of the lightning ...n which the message is borne.

And now, within the past few months, the isolation of the ...ea itself no longer affords repose.

The above general statement of actual conditions furnishes, I believe, the key note for most of the international political ...ctivity we now see about us.

To bring order out of chaos for the purpose of permitting the normal economic development of a tropical island at our very doors was at least one of the avowed objects of our late war with Spain.

In the train of that war followed, in natural sequence, our occupation of the Philippine Islands, for in the redistribution of territory and spheres of influence, since the beginning of the decay of Spain's colonial empire, both in the temperate and tropic zone, the United States has been continuously, since the foundation of our government, Spain's actual and logical heir. Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines are but corallaries of Florida and the original Spanish North American territory which came to us by forced cession after the Mexican war.

To what lengths the combination of economic necessity and moral obligation may yet compel the United States to go, no one may with safety predict, but I submit we cannot stand still. With the completion of the isthmian canal, and the resultant increase in tropical trade, or peradventure much sooner, the American people will, I apprehend, be called upon to decide whether they will abandon the limitations or extend the scope of the Monroe Doctrine. This doctrine, though political in origin and form is, I conceive, in its ultimate analysis, economic in fact, and is so recognized by the European powers.

The upholding of a political idea, labelled republican, but in reality anarchic or despotic, and which is not only practically barren of beneficial results, but stands rather as a menace to the economic advancement of the world, will, I am inclined to believe, appeal less and less to the practical side of the American character. When the present situation is more fully realized,

we may well come to the parting of the ways, and the question that may yet divide our own political parties will be our attitude toward the countries to the south of us in the western hemisphere. What that attitude may be, will, I think, depend largely, so far as the approximate future is concerned, upon the success or failure of our present experiment in the Philippine islands.

Should results falsify the prophets of evil who have declared that the government of a tropical dependency is beyond the legitimate sphere of a democratic Republic, then I believe we will venture still further into the troubled waters of tropical governmental supervision, following in the footsteps of England.

A resident American minister, with a position somewhat akin, in a general way, to that of an English adviser to the ruler of a *quasi* independent tropical state, may not be an attractive spectacle either to the inhabitant of equatorial Central and South American republics, nor to ourselves, and yet the political and economic requirements of the future may, like misery, make strange bed-fellows. As between such a solution and the introduction of European ascendency in South America, should such an alternative be presented, as well it may be, I assume that the American people would not long hesitate. The recent evolution, in an emergency in Venezuela, of the American minister to the position of plenipotentiary on behalf of the power to which he had been but co-equally accredited, suggests the modern trend.

Had an American "elder brother," backed by the power of the United States, with the moral support of England, to be had for the asking, been a recognized factor in shaping the internal affairs of Venezuela during the past generation, there can be little question but that this unfortunate South American so-called republic would now be a much more desirable member of the family of nations, both from a domestic and foreign standpoint.

That the commanding influence of the Anglo Saxon in controlling the policies of the world has been constantly on the in-

crease during the past two hundred and fifty years is a matter of common knowledge.

The annexation by England of the Dutch province of New Amsterdam in 1664, the fall of Quebec and the battle of Plassey nearly a century later, our Louisiana and Florida purchases from France and Spain respectively, the expulsion of Portugal and Spain from South America, Central America, and Mexico, the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine, our Mexican war and territorial acquisitions resulting therefrom, the consolidation of the United States after our Civil War, the heeded warning to France to leave Mexico after that war, our purchase of Alaska from Russia, the English occupation of Egypt, Fashoda, the recent South African war, our own late war with Spain, with all its momentous consequences, and now the building of an isthmian canal exclusively under American control, are all but closely related successive acts in the great world drama now being played before our eyes. Or, if you will, they are but grim milestones along the rough road leading to Anglo Saxon supremacy among the nations. And the end is not yet.

Failure to appreciate the vast political significance of the historical sequence above outlined led our present able and accomplished Secretary of State into the error of the first draught of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. So quickly and gracefully did he recover himself however that the episode is now almost forgotten.

The recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in the insular cases have left the American people free to pursue, without internal complications, whatever policy they may conceive as best adapted to the future orderly development of their relations with the rest of the world

From the days when Marshall first reared the stately structure of American sovereignty upon the firm foundations laid by Washington, no more far reaching judgment has ever been given by that august tribunal

Nor is that judgment, though rendered by a closely divided Court, ever likely to be reversed or modified, for, brought to

the bar of an enlightened public opinion, it has been ratified and confirmed by the still more august judgment of the American people .

But, untrammeled as our relations now are by the limitations of the constitution as affecting social conditions unsuited to its provisions, I believe that the national conscience, whatever may be our errors of judgment, will be ever on the alert to compel such legislation as shall be necessary and appropriate for the development of our tropical wards along the lines best suited to their character and environment.

It had not been my intention, in the choice of my subject for this evening, to further touch upon the actual conditions now existing in the Philippine Islands

In view, however, of the importance and interest of the subject, and my own earnest sympathy with the efforts we are now making to bring peace, prosperity, and contentment to the inhabitants of those islands, may I be allowed to say a few words as to our present, and what I conceive will be our future, relations with them.

From my own observation of tropical people, and from an able article on the Filipinos, by Mr. Marrion Willcox in the North American Review of September, 1900, it would seem that the Filipinos may be fairly divided into the four following classes:

First. A handful of idealists, much given to copious quotations, largely from French authors. These quotations deal, for the most part, with the abstract principles of liberty.

Second. The mute, densely ignorant, overwhelming majority, composed of all the different races, whose only idea of government now is, and always has been, obedience to those who have been set to rule over them by some higher power.

Third. A somewhat wavering, partially educated, small minority, easily influenced, and without any very definite principles to guide their political conduct.

Fourth. The Friars.

To these classes should be added, I apprehend, though not

mentioned in the article above referred to, a small group of educated men who have both the intelligence and the will to make their influence for good powerfully felt among their countrymen. From this class have come the men whose aid and support must have been invaluable to the Taft Commission in its arduous labors for the improvement of existing conditions.

Of the idealists it may be said that they exist in all communities, and though often valuable members of society, they are not likely to be men of much weight in the daily conduct of public affairs. In periods of acute unrest and widespread popular discontent, when some great social upheaval is impending, they are most likely to play an important part. Men of this stamp were conspicuous at the time of the French Revolution.

To the second class, namely, the ignorant mass, must be mainly directed our efforts to ameliorate present conditions throughout the islands.

To give some idea of this ignorance, it may be noted that with a property qualification of two hundred and fifty dollars, or an annual tax of not less than $15, or a knowledge of the Spanish or English languages, or the holding of some municipal office under Spanish rule, the number of qualified voters would be somewhat less than two per cent. of the population.

From the small third class, who may be termed the opportunists, we must, for the most part, select those to whom shall be confided, under American control, the practical details of local government.

Of the fourth class, namely, the Friars, I confess myself sufficiently unfamiliar with actual conditions to shrink from hazarding any opinion as to what position, if any, they may occupy in the future. That they have done good work, as well as bad, in the past seems to be generally admitted, for to them is due such Christianization as at present exists among the natives.

One of the principal defects of Spanish colonial methods in the Philippines has undoubtedly been the tendency of the Spanish priesthood to absorb political functions. As between the

civil and ecclesiastical local authority, represented by the Presidente and the Friar respectively, the latter appears to have been the more persistent force in the administration of those affairs which touched most closely the daily life of the people. Now in the whole history of civilization, from a period long antecedent to the Reformation down to our own time, there is no more distinctly written page than that which recounts the failure of ecclesiastical corporations to successfully administer temporal affairs in the interest of the community in which they live.

You will remember that, in the early colonial days of New England and Long Island, such efforts were successfully resisted when even mildly attempted by an effort to restrict the suffrage to church members. Taught by experience the wise men who framed our national and state constitutions were careful to guard the domain of the state against all danger of invasion by the authority of the church. But where, as in the Philippines, the relations of the two have been so closely intertwined through centuries of growth, the readjustment of their relations on American lines must be a difficult task. Roman Catholicism being the actual or nominal creed of over three-fourths of the inhabitants, and likely to remain so, we must therefore look to the Roman Catholic church in America to aid us in the work we have undertaken.

In regard to the proposed native Legislative Assembly, with carefully restricted powers, to come into existence on January 1st, 1904, whatever doubts or fears may be entertained as to its success, it would seem a wise concession to public opinion in America, and also to Filipino sensibilities, that the experiment should be tried.

Each nation which has heretofore attempted tropical dependent colonial government has insisted upon conducting its own experiments in its own way, and I submit that the sooner we learn the various lessons in store for us, the sooner will we arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to the wisest course to pursue.

"The English brain and the Egyptian hand" has been Lord

Cromer's guiding maxim in the wonderful regeneration of Egypt during the past twenty years, and so I believe it will be found that, for an indefinite period in the future, the ultimately responsible officers of the Philippine ship of state must be American, if the crew, no less than the officers, are to safely continue the voyage so auspiciously begun. But to fit them for their responsibilities the officers must be trained and, following in the footsteps of England, we must have a competitive, stable, high salaried and absolutely non-political colonial civil service, if we are to succeed. When the novelty is over, high salaries, and a recognized progressive career will alone enable us to obtain the grade of men necessary for the work we have undertaken in the tropics.

Of the important problems of labor and education I have not the time to speak. Each of itself might well fill volumes.

I would however suggest that after we have selected the most competent men in our country to study, report, and make recommendations upon such specific questions as may arise in our tropical dependencies, we should be exceedingly loath to oppose their recommendations, though based upon economic or political theories at variance with our own.

Mr. President and members of the Oneida Historical Society:

In this my address at this meeting of your Society I have sketched, if only in shadowy outline, some at least of the relations which I conceive to exist between the temperate and the tropic zones.

That the development of these relations upon right lines in the future must be a matter of the deepest concern to the American people goes without saying.

Of the correctness of my generalisations and conclusions you must judge. But whatever your judgment, this I know you will recognise, that I have earnestly endeavored to treat the subject in such historic and philosophic spirit as befits an occasion like the present.

But, undimmed by the mist and haze of divided opinion as to our country's future course, the central fact remains that in the past few years, in the eastern, no less than in the western, hemisphere, the United States has suddenly leaped, at one bound, into a position of overshadowing importance as a leader among the nations in the present movement for the advancement of civilization, upon a higher plane of endeavor, throughout the world.

And fixed indeed upon the eddies and the whirlpools, and not upon the mighty current itself, must be the gaze of him who can be led to believe that the greatest combination, potential if not actual, of moral, intellectual, religious, and material forces, since recorded time, can falter or look back when once it has put its hand to the plough.

Destiny and duty are no idle words.

APPENDIX.

The following Allocutions, Proclamation and Newspaper Editorial are taken from the Report of the U. S. Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War for the period from December 1st, 1900, to October 15, 1901.

Translation—From La Voz Espanola, a Manila afternoon newspaper, dated May 12, 1898.

Allocution of Archbishop Nozaleda.

The most excellent and illustrious archbishop of Manila has given out to his diocesans the following beautiful allocution, that needs no comments, because the grace of the ideas and thoughts treasured therein and the holy purpose which it contains do not admit of comment.

To the Faithful.

The North American fleet appeared at dawn upon the fateful day to this our country, my beloved sons, lording it over our beautiful bay to accomplish in a few moments and in spite of the heroism of our sailors the destruction of our ships, and to succeed in planting in one of our strongholds, the blessed soil

of the fatherland, the enemy's flag. Ye know who it is that, full of pride, thus trampling upon our rights, seeks to overwhelm ye, and ye also know what his purposes are. He is the foreigner who wishes to subject us to his harsh yoke; he is the heretic who wishes to tear us from our religion and to snatch us from the maternal bosom of the Catholic Church; he is the insatiable trader who desires to enlarge his fortune with the ruin of Spain and its possessions.

Poor Spain, if the invader should succeed in his purpose. Poor Filipinos, the day that the North American establishes a permanent government here. Unfortunate Indians, subjugated by the people who lack the Catholic faith of Spain, who have not the maternal blood, nor the noble magnanimity, nor the community of interests and of history, dating back to more than three centuries, nor the mixture of blood that circulates through the veins of many of us, who in a hundred glorious deeds have shed it to our common defense, united by a common brotherhood, the sons of the mother country and of the colony. Soon we will see an insuperable barrier established between ye and your vainglorious masters. No longer will there be for you employment nor office nor any participation whatsoever in the government and adminstration of the pueblos. Ye will become a separate group in civil life, ye will be villified as parialis, exploited as miserable colonists, reduced to the condition of laborers, aye, and even to that of beasts and machines, fed with a handful of rice or of corn, which our lords will throw in your faces as daily ration, so that he may not be deprived of the product of your sweat, while he will be regaled as a prince, with the fruits and treasure of an estate that is yours and not his. Ah, and this is not all, nor the worst, for ye will soon see your temples in ruin or converted into Protestant chapels, where oh, sorrow, the God of eucharist is not enthroned and where the Virgin Mary, our sweetest mother, has no pedestal. The cross will disappear from your cemeteries, the crucifix from your schools, as also the ministers of the true God who made ye Christians in baptism, who have so many times absolved ye from your sins, who have united ye in holy matrimony, who should minister unto thee, console and assist ye in your last

hour, and thereafter when ye are dead apply the last rites of the holy church. Ye, perhaps, with heroic faith and valor, will continue within your hearts being Catholics as before or firmer than heretofore, who can tell. But what would become of the flesh of your flesh, your tender sons, especially after they had been fatherless in the midst of a Protestant nation, Protestant legislation, faith, teachings, and customs, and the free exhibition and propaganda of vice and error? Ah, what will prevent there being within a period of half a century no more Christian practices or beliefs in all this country, nor that not one should be left here who would make a sign of the Saviour's cross upon his forehead. Poor Filipinos, unhappy in this life and unhappy in eternal life.

Fortunately, beloved Filipino people, at the roar of the enemy's cannon and at the shouts of alarm and at the watchword of your governor, ye have understood all the risk that ye run. As one man ye will prepare your defense, and as one heart ye will lift your prayers to heaven. This, this is certainly the only way of salvation. To arms! and to prayer as one man! To arms! because the Spanish people, though debilitated, when wounded in their patriotism and the defense of their religion, are capable of most glorious deeds. Let us pray, then, for even the strong and those who have justice on their side must remember that it is always a God who gives the victory, for it is not prayer alone, nor is it alone the battle—military effort and the help of God combined. God and his angels and saints be with us, for if it so came to pass, who can vanquish us?

Moreover, to the end that prayer may become more general in concord and more efficacious, it has appeared to us an inspiration from on high the idea of consecrating the sacred heart of Jesus throughout all the Philippine Archipelago, and to offer it when we shall have seen ourselves free from our present tribulations, worship of an exceptionally devout and magnificent sort upon the day when the church shall celebrate that feast, on Friday next after the Corpus Christi, the 17th of next June, or some other date, if that were impossible and should be considered more timely to postpone it. By this and aside from the private consecration of these islands, which we have al-

ready made on the first Friday of this month upon offering to God in the holy mass the sacred body of Jesus Christ, we did so, not only in our own name and that of our other diocesan prelates, but also in that of the most excellent governor-general, who, no less fervent Christian than prudent patriot and great military commander, awaits from God and now offers to God a triumph through the mediation of the deific heart, and thus interpreting the desires of the mass of the people of the islands, that is everywhere so devout, and invoking the intercession of all the patron saints of the islands and principally of the sovereign queen of all, the most Holy Virgin of the rosary.

In the deep-rooted hope of solemnizing very soon this consecration and offeratory, for the present deprived from us, we give to all beloved sons our benediction in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Friar Bernardino, Archbishop of Manila.

Manila, May 8, 1898.

[Translation.—Extra Gazette of the 23d of April, 1898.]

Office of the Government and of the
Captain-General of the Philippines.

Spaniards:

Between Spain and the United States of North America hostilities have broken out.

The moment has come for us to show the world that we have courage to spare to conquer those who, feigning to be loyal friends, have taken advantage of our misfortunes and have exploited our magnanimity by the use of means that cultured nations hold to be base and unworthy.

The North American people, made up of all social excrescences, have exhausted our patience and have provoked a war by their perfidious machinations, by their unloyal acts, by their attempts upon the rights of peoples and upon international convictions. The struggle will be short and decisive. The God of victories will grant unto us one that is brilliant and complete, as reason and the justice of our cause demand. Spain, that has the sympathy of every nation, will come out triumphant from this new trial, humiliating and dumbfounding the adventurers of those States who, without homogenity and without history,

only offer to humanity shameful traditions and the spectacle of legislative chambers wherein there appear united insolency and defamation, cowardice and cynicism.

A fleet, manned by foreigners without instruction and without discipline, is about to come to this archipelago with the wild purpose of taking away from you all that implies life, honor, and liberty. The North American sailors pretend to be inspired by a courage of which they are incapable, and they appear to look upon as a feasible enterprise the substitution of the Catholic religion, which you profess, by that of Protestantism; to treat you as tribes refractory to civilization, to possess themselves of your riches as if the right of ownership were unknown to you; to seize, in a word, those among you whom they may consider useful to man their ships, or to work their lands and carry on their industries.

Vain designs! Ridiculous boasting!

Your indomitable bravery will suffice to prevent them from daring to attempt, much less to realize them. Ye will not consent, no, that the religion which ye profess be scoffed at, nor that impetuous feet shall desecrate the temple of the true God, nor that unbelief shall demolish the sacred images which ye adore. The aggressors shall not profane the tomb of your fathers; they shall not satisfy their impure passions at the cost of the honor of your wives and daughters; they shall not seize the property that your self-denial has accumulated to maintain your lives; they shall not realize, no, none of those crimes begotten of their wickedness and avarice, because your valor and your patriotism suffice to frighten and overwhelm those people, who, calling themselves civilized and cultured, have resorted to the extermination of the aborigines of North America without making the effort to bring them to civilization and progress.

Filipinos, prepare for the struggle. For, united under the protection of the glorious Spanish flag, always covered with laurels, we will fight with the conviction that victory will crown our efforts, and we will answer the intimidation of our enemies with the decisive action of the Christian and the patriot at the shout of "Vivi Espana!"

Augustin, Your General.

Manila, April 23, 1898.

I certify that the above is a true copy taken from the Manila Gaceta on file in these archives.

M. de Iriarte,
In Charge of Archives.

Manila, P. I., October 10, 1901.

[Translation.—From El Espanol, a Manila newspaper, issue of April 29, 1898.]

North America.

It is not my practice to attack the weak; it is just the contrary; but when the weak takes undue advantage of the kindness with which he has been treated, it is well to call a halt and tell him.

You are of obscure origin; your principal nucleus has been formed out of soulless beings—the refuse of Europe. You have become, apparently, a cultured nation, but you have always kept at the bottom a fund of perversity. Your ideas can not get beyond trade and profit, and every means is legitimate so long as it enables you to reach your purpose; shame has never reddened your cheeks. Where there is no heart there can be no good and you are lacking it. You are the assassins of thousands of tribes of red skins, and the Mississippi has flowed red with the blood of your victims, for your diplomacy has been that of the dagger, poison, and the stake. You do not know the rights of the individual, you have no other law but egotism, no other belief than that in money; for filthy lucre you will sacrifice everything, you will sell absolutely everything. You call yourself the focus of civilization when you are but a few brands of the fire built in that cavern called the American Union. You are going to measure arms with a nation as noble as it is great and generous, and whose sublime history is lost in the night of time. The world admires it because it is the land one people of which made ancient Rome tremble and has ever been admired and respected even to the present time for its valor and nobility. Your infamous traffic with your most worthy brethren of the Cuban brush, Maceo, Guillermon, Araggueren, and other traitors who ought to have been hanged as many times as they have

been forgiven; that traffic, I repeat, the world has knowledge of and the stain of ignominy covers your face as the mask covers every villain who commits a crime with cowardly impunity, because his cowardice prevents him from doing otherwise. Your ships, manned and stupidly handled by hands that tremble when they grasp the sword, if they should happen to come in front of our noble sailors, will feel like the prostitute who trembles with fear when she faces a virgin, and will flee with fear, for no being can be brave whose conscience is stained.

It is a great sacrific to have to speak to you in such language, people of the Union, but I do not do otherwise through the fear that you will not understand me if I use a more correct one.

Our soldiers will go to Washington, and when this shall have happened, which will be very soon, I advise you to gather up the cast-off sandals of our soldiers and that you press them to your face, and mayhap in this manner you may absorb some of the dignity that exudes even from the feet of a Spanish soldier.

Be not afraid. A large indemnity and a promise from you that in the future you will be decent people will put an end to the conflict.

Your advisor,

F. J. Ceballos.

April 26, 1898.

[Translation.—From La Voz Espanola, Manila, April 25, 1898.]

Catholic Allocution.

Yesterday there was distributed among the guards of honor and the Brotherhood of the Most Holy Virgin of the Rosary a touching allocution, by order of the archbishop of this diocese, that we have the pleasure of reproducing, as the protection of the Queen of Heaven is to-day more essential than ever before.

The allocution is as follows:

"My beloved brethren in the Lord and in our most Holy Mother Mary:

"The time has arrived when it is necessary for you to show with special enthusiasm your steadfast Catholic faith, your fidelity to the fatherland, and your sentiments of tender devotion toward the Most Holy Virgin, in whose Brotherhood of the

Rosary you are inscribed, and whose guards of honor you proclaim yourselves with holy joy.

"This day, April 25, war is already declared, and it is possible that at this very time the navy and army of our heroic and Catholic Spain is punishing in distant lands the villainy of a people who, having for a long time abused our nobleness of heart, have obstinately turned a deaf ear to reason and have dared to insult our flag and to violate the most sacred rights of our greatly beloved Spain.

"We do not know with certainty if the war will reach the archipelago, this beautiful portion of the Spanish fatherland. It may well come to pass, perhaps in a short time, and in view of this we must all be prepared to manfully struggle as Christians and Spaniards, and to die, if necessary, for the holy cause of loyalty.

"To fight for one's country is to fight for God, as He wishes that we sacrifice ourselves for it, and orders us that without hesitation and conditions we defend the society whose sons we are when it is attacked and insulted. To die for one's country is equivalent to dying for virtue; it is also to die for God, for the Holy Maccabees have said: 'It is better to die than to see our country and our temples trampled under foot.'

"Be good of heart, then; be brave and have confidence. Our cause is just, is great, is most holy. The North Americans are heretics; they are a people who have destroyed the Indian races that populated their territory; they are a people who have no true God, accepting every sort of religion and false worship; they are a people who against all reason and right believe that they can violate our divine religion, our laws, our property, and our honor, and wish to renew, perhaps in this land, their cruelties and murders of the aborigines, destroying the holy and civilizing work of Spain.

* * * * * * *

(Here follows an exhortation to prayer.)

Convent of Santo Domingo de Manila,
April 23, 1898.

By order of my prelate, Fray Zacarias Lizarraga, chaplain of the rosary and director of the guard of honor of Mary.

[Translation.—From El Espanol, Manila, April 28, 1898.]

The Archbishop of Manila, apostolic administrator of the diocese of Jaro, to his diocesans.

[*Quodcumque Vouleritsi petetis et fiet vobis.* (Joan 15.-7).]

In these moment of trial it is our duty to inform ye, beloved sons, that your faith exacts from you the compliance with two duties—to pray and to fight.

A heterodox people, possessed by the blackest rancor and all the abject passions that heresy engenders, purposes to attack us. They hate in us that which we most value—our religion, the religion of our fathers, left to us as a most precious legacy, that we are obliged to maintain intact, even at the cost of our lives. If for the evils of our sins God should permit the intentions of the aggressor to prosper, the desolation and ruin of our people would be complete; soon would they see the heartrending spectacle of their temples razed, the altars of the true God profaned, and our religion swept away by the diversity of sects that the heretic banner protects; the peace of our homes and all the wealth of our people, united and ennobled by the practices and teachings of the Christian faith, would completely disappear, impelled by the implacable hatred that our enemies profess for the religion and races differing from its own.

But no; the Lord will not permit the arrogance of our enemies to triumph. Our cause is that of justice and of religion; we will therefore have God with us. And if God favors us, who can stand before us? Let the enemy put his trust in his fleets and treasures; we, beloved sons, guided by the light of faith, place our trust in God, who loves justice and abhors iniquity, who humbles the proud and exalts the humble, and gives victory as He wills, scoffing at the plans of human presumption. For it is not the number of combatants, nor their warlike armament that decides the battle, but the courage of the heart that descends from on high. *De coelo fortitudo est.*

Therefore, prostrated before the God of Armies, we will raise our voice in humble prayer to heaven, saying with the prophet: Lord, come to our help; hasten to succor us; renew to-day the prodigies that Thou hast worked in the past for our fathers

They went to Thee full of faith and hope, and Thou didst listen to their vows. Over them Thou didst extend Thy powerful arm and saved them. Strong in the faith of Thy word they fought, a few against many, and won the glorious victory.

Lepanto and the Sea of Mindoro are witnesses. There the proud fleet that threatened Christianity succumbed. Here was the pride of the heterodox nation that sought with sectarian fury to humble the Spanish flag and at the same time disseminate among these people the errors of heresy, humbled. Here and there the brave soldiers of the faith battled with armies very superior in numbers that, notwithstanding, were beaten by our men, who were transformed into so many heroes by the sovereign strength with which God had inspired them, as a recompense for the virtue of their holy prayers. Spain prayed, Filipinos prayed, our soldiers prayed. When the standards of Mary were unfurled on the ships of Lepanto and on the improvised galleons of Cavite confidence knew no bounds. The prayer of the rosary raised to heaven by the hands of Mary was the sure earnest of victory. For that reason, after the triumph of the Virgin of the Rosary she was proclaimed the Virgin of Victories. Facts so persuasive of the efficacy of prayer will be sufficient, beloved sons, we do not doubt, to prevent you from hearing with indifference the call that we have made upon you to pray. At all times the obligation of prayer is incumbent upon all.

* * * * * * * *

(Here follows a long exhortation to prayer, in which the faithful are told that the Lord will not desert them in their hour of tribulation.)

May it be the will of the Lord, in whose thrice holy name I do bless ye, to confirm in your hearts feelings of faith and piety.

Fray Bernardino, Archbishop.

Manila, April 28, 1898.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE ONEIDA BAR.

By Henry J. Cookinham.

Delivered before the Oneida Historical Society at Utica, December 14, 1903.

In preparing the following address it was found impossible to give, in the time allotted, even a brief sketch of the lives of all the prominent attorneys who had died since 1875. The plan adopted therefore was to give a sketch of the life of every lawyer who had filled the office of Justice of the Supreme Court, or an office considered more honorable.

At the close of the address Julius A. T. Doolittle, Esq., moved: "That the thanks of the Association be tendered to the speaker for his able address, and that he be requested to furnish to the Association a copy for publication; also a copy of all other sketches which he has prepared of the lives of other attorneys."

The motion was unanimously adopted.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE ONEIDA BAR.

ON October 18, 1875, WILLIAM J. BACON, ex-Justice of the Supreme Court of the State, delivered an address in this city before the lawyers of the County on "The Early Bar of Oneida." The last of the eminent lawyers mentioned by him in that address was Justice Charles H. Doolittle, who had died during the previous summer. Since that day not less than eighty-eight members of the bar of this County have laid down their labors forever.

Circumscribed by a time limit it is impossible, except in some instances, to treat of the different individuals. It will be necessary rather to divide them into classes, and as such to present them for your consideration. While the endeavor will be to

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give the opinion of the bar, generally, of the most prominent of those who have gone from our midst during the last quarter of a century, undoubtedly there are those who will differ widely from the views here expressed.

To say that a man has been admitted to the bar is one thing, but to say that he is a lawyer, as understood by the profession, quite another. To be admitted to the bar is simply to be permitted to practice law, but to be a lawyer is to have a knowledge of the fundamental principles upon which the law is founded. This can be acquired only by diligent study and deep thought. It is an old wise saying that "no man knows law intuitively." The great lawyers of the past were made so by the study of text books and by storing their minds with the accumulated wisdom of the ages. It would be surprising if a man in his entire lifetime should read the law books which Mr. Webster mastered before he was thirty years of age. If Webster required this prodigious amount of work to place him at the head of his profession surely any other man must devote a large amount of time to like study in order to gain a place in the front rank at the bar.

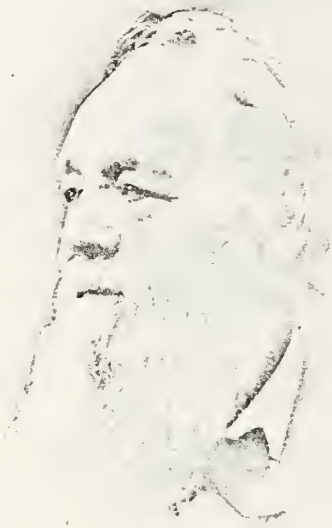
Natural talents alone will never make a great lawyer, but must be supplemented by diligent study and close application to the profession. Then, too, there are certain qualities of mind imperatively demanded. These are a keen perception, discrimination, comprehensiveness and good judgment. Let it be remembered then that it is not as orators, politicians or statesmen but as lawyers only that the subjects of this paper are to be treated. Is it not true that by a concensus of opinion every member of the bar is, by his brethren, placed in the particular class to which he belongs? In other words, is not the estimate of the bar concerning its own members fair and correct? This estimate is frequently, perhaps, generally very different from the popular one. It is not infrequent that some member of the bar is comparatively unknown outside the profession. He fills no prominent place in the community; he really hides his light under a bushel, yet, among his fellow lawyers, is held in very

high esteem. Such is the case with some of those who will be mentioned here.

It will not be questioned that most men are better fitted for some branches of the profession than for others. There is by nature the business man, the advocate, the pleader, the sound counselor. Sometimes, but rarely, nature showers upon a favorite son her richest gifts, and presents to the admiring world her great man, endowed to an extraordinary extent with all these essential qualities; then we have a Burke, a Mansfield, a Marshall, a Webster.

It seems eminently fitting that the first to be considered here should be he, who, twenty-eight years ago, presented to the bar of the County so admirable a paper on our brethren who had preceded us in the "tide of times."

At this bar, which numbered some of the foremost lawyers in the State, few surpassed William J. Bacon in attractiveness and acquirements. He was born in Williamstown, Massachusetts, February 18, 1803, and graduated from Hamilton College at nineteen years of age. For a year he edited the Utica Daily Gazette, then commenced the study of law in the office of Joseph Kirkland. He was admitted to the bar in 1828, and during the same year married Eliza, daughter of Mr. Kirkland. He was a second time married after the death of his first wife, to Mrs. Susan S. Gillette. In 1850 he served as Member of Assembly, and was re-elected the following year. He served in the State Legislature with great distinction, and so commended himself to the public and the bar that in 1853 he was elected Justice of the Supreme Court, and was re-elected in 1862. As the term of this office at that time was eight years, Judge Bacon served upon the bench for sixteen years. On his retirement a meeting of the bar of the County was held in Utica to express its appreciation of the ability, integrity and fairness which had characterized him in his high office for so long a time. Virtually without opposition in his own party, he was the candidate for Representative in Congress in 1876, and served one term in the House of Representatives. His standing



WILLIAM J. BACON.

ALEXANDER S. JOHNSON.

as a lawyer and as a man was such that the opinion of no one in the central part of the State had greater weight than his. He was a director in many of the most important business enterprises; was a trustee of Hamilton College, a director and the President of the Savings Bank of Utica. He always responded to the call of the public, and did his share in good works for the city, the county, for charitable institutions and the churches in his native city. Judge Bacon, as a lawyer at the bar, was near the front rank. He brought to the office of Justice of the Supreme Court a ripe scholarship, broad culture, honest intentions, and, after serving two terms in that high office, he retired from the bench having the respect and confidence of the entire judicial district. His opinions in the appellate courts are models of English and, although they lack the strength of some others, none surpass them in elegance of diction and refinement. As a judge and citizen he left an enviable reputation.

ALEXANDER SMITH JOHNSON was born in Utica, July 30, 1817. His father was Alexander B. Johnson, and his mother Abigail L. S. Adams. He prepared for college at a private school in Utica and entered Yale College in 1835. His room-mate was the late John F. Seymour of this city. Mr. Johnson studied law with Judge Samuel Beardsley, and was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-one. In 1839 he removed to New York City and became a partner with Elisha P. Hurlburt, and afterwards with Charles F. Southmayd and Charles E. Butler. In 1851 he was elected Judge of the Court of Appeals. It will be observed that he was at this time only thirty-four years of age, and it is worthy of remark that he was the youngest man who ever sat upon the bench of this court. In 1852 he married, at St. Catherines, Canada, Catherine Maria Cryster. On retiring from the bench in 1860 he returned to Utica and resumed his law practice. In 1864 he was elected one of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, and in the same year was appointed by President Lincoln one of the United States Commissioners to settle the claims of the Hudson Bay Company and Puget Sound Company. In 1873 on the elevation of

Judge Ward Hunt, who was serving in the Commission of Appeals, to the Supreme Court bench of the United States. Judge Johnson was appointed by the Governor to succeed Judge Hunt in the Commission of Appeals. The next year, on the death of Judge Rufas Peckham, of the Court of Appeals, Judge Johnson was transferred from the Commission to the Court. He was nominated by the Republican party for the full term of a judge of this court but, as the State went Democratic, he was defeated. In 1875 Governor Tilden named Mr. Johnson as one of the Commissioners to revise the statutes of the state. In October of the same year he was appointed Judge of the United States Circuit Court for the Second Circuit. In 1877 he became ill, and for relief went to the Bahama Islands. Here he found no relief, and he died January 26th, 1878, and was was buried in Forest Hill Cemetery at Utica. Judge Johnson was a man of broad culture, thoroughly versed in the principles of law; conscientious, painstaking and faithful in all his duties, and during his judicial career he stood in the front rank among judges, state and federal.

CHARLES MASON, although not a native of Oneida County, and notwithstanding he made Utica his home late in life, became identified with the Oneida bar, and was welcomed by it to one of the most prominent positions in the county. He had served as District Attorney of Madison County, and for more than twenty years as Justice of the Supreme Court, having been first elected in 1847. He had been a Judge of the Court of Appeals, to which position he was appointed by Governor Fenton in 1868. Judge Mason was born at Plattsburg, New York: studied law in Watertown with William Ruger, and for a time practiced there as a partner with Mr. Ruger under the firm name of Ruger & Mason. From Watertown he removed to Hamilton in 1838, where he passed most of his life, as he did not move to Utica until 1869. He died in Utica May 31, 1879. Immediately on his taking up his residence here, the advice of Judge Mason was sought in many important cases, and perhaps no one who ever commenced practice in Utica in so short a

CHARLES MASON.

time gained so prominent a position at our bar as he. His advice was highly valued among laymen, and also by the profession; and, as referee, in which position he frequently served, he was almost ideal.

In a class with these men who filled high official positions are many others who, perhaps, by reason of natural gifts, acquirements, and conscientiousness were their equals, but who never sought, or, if they sought, never obtained, high judicial office. Such were Alexander Coburn, John G. Crocker, John H. Edmunds, John F. Seymour of Utica; Bloomfield J. Beach, D. M. K. Johnson and G. Harrison Lynch of Rome, and Othniel S. Williams of Clinton.

There was also a large class of lawyers who may be called all round practitioners. They were well equipped in most branches of the law, and having a general practice they had no time, and perhaps no inclination, to devote energy enough to any particular branch to excel in it and thereby gain fame. They chose to cover a large field and stand well in many branches of the practice. In this class of honorable men are: George W. Adams, Daniel Ball, Joseph R. Swan, Peter Davies, Alexander T. Goodwin, Richard McIncrow, Eaton J. Richardson, Joel Willard, N. Curtis White, Robert O. Jones and Leslie W. Kernan of Utica; Cyrus D. Prescott, K. Carroll, Edward L. Stevens, Henry O. Southworth, Charles N. White and David E. Wager of Rome; Walter Ballou and Leander W. Fisk of Boonville; George K. Carroll and Stephen Cromwell of Camden; Joseph S. Avery and James McCabe of Clinton; Sylas L. Snyder of Taberg; and Edwin Lamb of Waterville.

After entering the profession most men soon discover that some certain branch of the law suits them better than others, and they seek its pursuit. This has in the past, and will in the future, cause a large number to devote themselves to what may be called the commercial side of the profession. These attorneys never devote themselves to study sufficiently to become very learned in the law. They, instead, give their time to busi-

ness transactions, becoming acquainted with men, and looking up law business, and in these pursuits they are very effective. Their advice is sought as to the expediency of purchasing property, making investments, entering into contracts, undertaking business enterprises, but not often upon difficult questions of law. Foremost in this class was Orsamus B. Matteson, who, in his prime, was one of the most efficient business men that the city has ever known. It is probable that the largest commercial law business ever done by any firm in the city was by Matteson & Doolittle, of which partnership Charles H. Doolittle was the junior member. It was a popular saying of the day that "Matteson knew how to get the business, and Doolittle knew how to do it."

Then there were Edward Brayton, James W. Bond, George Clarence Churchill, Charles M. Dennison, Henry A. Doolittle, Edmond A. Graham, Hiram Hurlburt, Burton D. Hurlburt, Arthur B. Johnson, Nicholas E. Kernan, James F. Mann, Addison C. Miller and Andrew J. McIntosh. Among this number are some of the most esteemed citizens of the community. Some of them, by their capacity in grasping business propositions, accumulated fortunes in a legitimate way, and not by blind pools, illegal combinations of corporate interests, or accidental success in speculation. Who would ask for better advisors in ordinary business transactions than Addison C. Miller or Nicholas E. Kernan? So might I ask in regard to others of the number who acted well their parts as business men.

In passing over the list, names suggest to us faces of those we once saw on our streets, but which no longer appear. They lived, as most men do, without accomplishing any great result, but some of them lead conscientious and pure lives and are entitled to our lasting respect. There were William R. Anthony, Rufas C. Baker, Charles L. DeGeorgia, John D. Griffith, James F. Hurley, Morvin M. Jones, William J. Kernan, Rutger B. Miller, Jr., Eugene Stearns, Richard Schroeppel, Eleakin J. Stoddard, Isaac J. Tripp and J. Frank Rogers of Utica; James

Parks, Stephen Van Draessar, Joseph Porter and DeLos M. White of Rome, and James W. Cummings of Clinton.

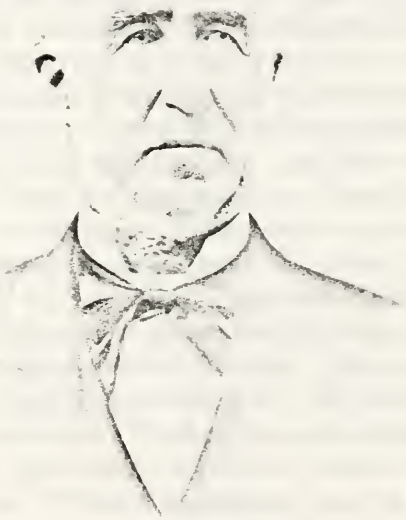
There has been during the last quarter century a class of lawyers among us which may be called *sui generis*. Among these were O. Arthur White, Patrick F. Bulger, Charles J. Everett, Thomas E. Kinney and David C. Wollcott.

We have had also another class of attorneys which may be called only trial lawyers. They were always at the circuit, and their business consisted largely of the trial of ordinary cases and of criminal practice. No circuit or trial term of a criminal court was held during their respective lives except that conspicuous among the members of the bar in attendance were Dexter E. Pomeroy, J. Thomas Spriggs of Utica, Milton D. Barnett, Daniel C. Pomeroy and Joseph I. Sayles of Rome. Of these, in ordinary trials, particularly for the defense, Mr. Spriggs easily outclassed the others. Possessed of a genial disposition, great shrewdness, and having a fair equipment of general acquirements, but little knowledge of the law, he was always a dangerous adversary before a jury. He possessed the power to discern quickly the weak points of his antagonist upon questions of fact, and used them to the very best advantage. For the plaintiff, or for the defense in a criminal case where the crime was murder or some other of great magnitude, Daniel C. Pomeroy ranked high in the class. He made no pretense of having a thorough knowledge of law; he trusted this part of the practice to others, but in arousing the sympathies or prejudices of a jury he was ever effective. In presenting his case to the jury he was always interesting, and at times his speech rose to real eloquence.

From the fact that during the last twenty-eight years four men have practiced at the Oneida bar, who attained greater reputation than any others, we are constrained to class them by themselves. Three were United States senators, and the fourth a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Francis Kernan, Ward Hunt, Henry A. Foster and Roscoe Conkling.

FRANCIS KERNAN.

Born of Irish parents on a farm in Tyrone, Schuyler County, New York, January 14, 1816, and trained in the open air, the best school for giving perfect health and habits, Francis Kernan at the age of seventeen entered Georgetown College, District of Columbia, and in 1836 graduated and commenced the study of law with his brother-in-law, Edward Quinn, at Watkins, New York. In 1839 he removed to Utica, and entered the office of the famous advocate Joshua A. Spencer, to complete his law studies. He was admitted to the bar in 1840, and had determined to remove to the west when Mr. Spencer offered him a partnership. This offer he accepted, and the firm of Spencer & Kernan was formed, which was the foundation of the Kernan law office, that for more than fifty years has held one of the foremost positions in this city and county. Mr. Kernan was married to Hannah Devereux, daughter of Nicholas Devereux, May 23rd, 1843. It is said that in order to have the general principles of law fresh in his mind he read Kent's Commentaries through every year during his early life. His ambition was to excel, and he knew that the road to success lay through the old beaten track of hard work. In 1853 the firm of Spencer & Kernan was dissolved, and that of Kernan & Quinn formed. In 1857 Mr. William Kernan was admitted to the partnership, which was then known as Kernan, Quinn & Kernan. Still later, and after the death of Mr. Quinn, Mr. Kernan's sons, respectively John D. and Nicholas E., were admitted to the firm. From 1854 to 1857 Mr. Kernan was the Reporter of the Court of Appeals, and the five volumes of New York Reports, commencing with the 11th and ending with the 14th, are his work. The Democratic party made him its candidate for Member of Assembly in 1860, and he was elected over General James McQuade. In 1862 he defeated Roscoe Conkling for member of congress, but two years thereafter was defeated by Mr. Conkling for the same office. He served as a Delegate in the Constitutional Convention of 1867-8, and in 1870 was elected to the Board of Regents of the University of



FRANCIS KERNAN.

New York. The State Democratic Convention of 1872 nominated him for Governor, but the popularity of General Grant, who was the candidate of the Republican party for the presidency was such that New York remained in the Republican column, and General Dix was elected Governor over Mr. Kernan. In the election of 1874 the Democrats obtained control of the state legislature, and the logical candidate for United States Senator was Mr. Kernan. He was elected without serious opposition to fill the office for six years from March 4, 1875. This city and county then enjoyed the unusual distinction of having both United States Senators from the Empire State. Mr. Kernan was ever an enthusiastic advocate of free schools, and beginning in 1843 he served for twenty years upon the school board of this city. As eminent and successful as he was in other walks of life, yet it was as a lawyer that he was most conspicuous. His experience at the bar was second to no one who ever lived in this county. Long after he had reached the front he would try cases in the lower courts. One day he might appear in the County Court in a case involving a few hundred dollars; the next day in the Court of Appeals to argue some momentous question involving large sums of money, grave constitutional questions or important corporate rights. He manifested the same singleness of purpose and devotion to the interest of his client in one case as in the other. Any case entrusted to his care received his best endeavor. He was always serious in the conduct of a trial. The interests of his client were not to be trifled with. His position was clearly stated by himself to a friend to be this: "When I commenced practice I worried over the results of my cases, but I soon decided to do the very best I could in every case, and let the consequences take care of themselves."

In eliciting evidence from a witness Mr. Kernan manifested great shrewdness, and in addressing a jury he showed the same characteristic. It was this more than eloquence or persuasiveness that won him verdicts. His voice was somewhat harsh, and he never indulged in flights of eloquence or figures of

speech when addressing a jury. He resorted to no claptrap; he relied on convincing the jury through their reason rather than influencing them by exciting their prejudices or sympathies. As an illustration of his shrewdness one instance may be cited. He was defending a man for murder. The defendant had killed a man by hitting him with a stone not much larger than a hen's egg. The district attorney had shown that at the time the defendant threw the stone he said with an oath he would kill his victim. This was relied upon to show premeditation and malice. In addressing the jury Mr. Kernan in a conversational tone of voice called attention to the circumstances, stated the case clearly, presenting all the strong points which the district attorney could make, and then picking up the stone from the table he showed it to the jury, and still speaking in a conversational tone said: "Now gentlemen, do you believe that defendant really intended to murder his friend when he threw that little stone and said he would kill him? Did he not use the expression in the same sense as any of us might use it, and without any idea of committing murder?" The jury evidently took this view of the case, as the conviction was for manslaughter in the third degree instead of murder. As effective as Mr. Kernan was in a jury trial, he was yet more so in his legal arguments in the higher courts. A search through the reports will show that he was frequently before the appellate courts upon some of the most important questions ever presented to the courts of the state. His briefs were masterly; never unnecessarily long, and never contained citations of cases which did not apply to the facts. He first mastered the case so far as the facts were concerned, and made a most concise and clear statement; then he applied the law to the facts. He cited few cases, but they were always on the question at issue, and were decisive of the point which he claimed for them. Every appellate court listened to his arguments with the closest attention, for it obtained from him great help in coming to a correct conclusion in the case. It is almost useless to say that for more than twenty years he was the leader of the Utica bar, and one of the most eminent lawyers in the entire country. Francis Kernan died at Utica.

WARD HUNT.

September 8, 1892, and his body rests in St. Agnes Cemetery in the city where he passed all the years of his manhood, and we bring our tribute to him in the words of Fitz Greene Hallock over his friend J. Rodman Drake,

"None knew him but to love him,
None named him but to praise."

WARD HUNT.

In March, 1886, there appeared in a prominent newspaper the following: "Utica has other sons adopted and resident here, and it has sent into other parts of the Union those who have earned civil and judicial decoration. Of its sons, born and raised, and always making their homes here, it is not too much to say that the most distinguished, he who has won the rarest honors and occupied the most of the attention of his profession, lies now in the coffin of Ward Hunt."

Passing through many judicial positions he finally atttained the highest, save one, under the government. This prominence was not reached without unusual industry and character, most enviable. On January 14, 1810, in this city Ward Hunt first saw the light of day. His father was Montgomery Hunt, cashier of the Bank of Utica, and his mother the daughter of Captain Joseph Stringham of New York. He prepared for college at the Oxford and Geneva Academies; entered Hamilton College, but went from there to Union to be under President Nott, and graduated in 1828. In after years he received from his alma mater and also from Rutgers College the degree of LL.D. His law studies were pursued at Litchfield, Conn., and in the office of Hiram Denio of this city. After admission to the bar in 1831 he became a partner with his former instructor under the firm name of Denio & Hunt. Within a short time after admission he commenced the trial of cases in all the courts, and soon gained a prominent position among the trial lawyers of the county. He was also soon known throughout Central New York as a safe counsellor. In 1838 Mr. Hunt was elected to the Assembly, but only served one term. In 1844 he was

elected Mayor of Utica over Frederick Hollister. In the practice of his profession he so commended himself to his party and the public that in 1853 he was nominated by the Democratic party for Justice of the Supreme Court, his opponent being William J. Bacon. As there was a division in the Democratic party in the district Mr. Hunt was defeated. Soon after this the controversy over slavery which preceded the Civil War arose, and many Democrats, including Mr. Hunt, gave their support to the new party in its fight against the extension of slavery and the claims of the South.

Mr. Hunt never sacrificed or neglected his professional engagements for pleasure or for politics, but devoted his best energies first and always to his profession. His experience in varied and important litigations well fitted him for high judicial office, and so commended him, that he was nominated by the Republican party for Judge of the Court of Appeals in 1865. It is noteworthy that he was elected and took the seat on the bench vacated by his former partner, Judge Denio. By the resignation of one judge and the death of another in this court he became the Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals. By an amendment to the state constitution this court was reorganized, and the old court was continued under the name of the Commission of Appeals. Judge Hunt served in this Commission until January 7, 1873, when he resigned to accept the position of Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, to which position he had been appointed by President Grant. For ten years he filled this high office with marked ability and unquestioned integrity, then on account of failing health, in 1882, he resigned. His health did not improve, and on March 24, 1886, he died in Washington, D. C. His body rests in Forest Hill Cemetery of this city. Through his long career as attorney and judge he received the respect of the public. With every instinct of a gentleman, with a broad culture obtained by study, thought and association with the best of the land, with a uniform courtesy and honesty of purpose, together with a dignity ever the same whether in his own office, on the street, in the trial of causes, or

HENRY A. FOSTER.

in the high offices to which he was elevated, Ward Hunt commanded the respect and admiration of every member of the bar who ever came into his presence.

HENRY A. FOSTER.

One of the most prominent lawyers of this city said recently that as "a clean cut lawyer" Henry A. Foster was the equal of any man anywhere. This remarkable man was born at Hartford, Connecticut, May 7, 1800, and died at Rome on the 11th day of May, 1889.

His legal education was acquired in the office of David B. Johnson of Cazenovia, B. Davis Noxon of Onondaga Hill, Onondaga County, Beach & Popple of Oswego, and James Sherman of Rome. He commenced trying cases in the Justice Court before he was admitted to the bar, and it was then said of him that when Foster was in a case "it meant business." In 1822 he was admitted to the bar; and, he had acquired such a reputation for the trial of cases in the Justice Court that on the same day that he was admitted he was assigned to defend a criminal against the famous Samuel Beardsley, who was at that time district attorney. The case presented some new and intricate questions of law which Foster argued with marked ability and procured an acquittal. In 1826 Mr. Foster was nominated for Member of Assembly, but failed of election. The next year, when he was only twenty-six years of age, he was appointed Surrogate of the County, and held this office until 1831, when he relinquished it to become State Senator, to which office he had been elected. He was during three years, beginning in 1826, Trustee of the village of Rome and Supervisor of the town for five years. In August, 1835, he was again appointed Surrogate, and resigned the position in 1837 to take his seat in the United States House of Representatives. In 1840 he was again elected state senator. Before his term expired he resigned to accept the appointment of United States Senator. His failure of re-election to the United States Senate, and the

disappointments attending it, gave color to all his after life. From that time forth he was irascible and impatient. These characteristics frequently worked to his disadvantage. President Pierce appointed him in 1853 United States District Attorney for the Northern District of New York, but he declined the office. Until the agitation over the slavery question assumed such proportions as to threaten the nation's life, Mr. Foster had been a Democrat, but soon after the formation of the Republican party he became a Republican. In 1863 he was nominated by this party for the office of Justice of the Supreme Court, and elected. On his election he removed from Rome to Oswego, and resided there until his term of office expired, when he returned to his former home at Rome, and there he lived and practiced his profession until a short time before his death. It is questionable whether there was ever an abler Justice of the Supreme Court in this state than Foster. His knowledge of law was so great, his memory so remarkable, his perception so quick that he seemed a very prodigy when upon the bench. As an illustration of his marvelous memory it is related by an eminent lawyer that he met Judge Foster, long after his term of office had expired, and spoke of a case that he had tried before him many years before. He found that the judge remembered it to the minutest detail, and he then said to him, "Judge Foster, I am astonished to know that you remember this case." The judge replied, "I remember every case that was ever tried before me."

At a court held by him in this city an important case was tried by Roscoe Conkling on one side, Francis Kernan and J. Thomas Spriggs on the other. He had many difficult questions of law to decide on the spur of the moment, and he showed great ability in his rulings. The evidence was completed; the case was summed up by Mr. Conkling on one side, and Mr. Kernan on the other. Then the judge gave one of his masterly charges to the jury. Mr. Conkling after hearing the charge turned to a friend and said "Judge Foster knows everything." It was not

alone in the field of law that his unusual acquirements appeared. He had an unusual knowledge of science, literature, mathematics, philosophy, geography, almost everything. Not long before his death he appeared as counsel in an important case at a Special Term in this county. The Judge who held the court and who has since died, after hearing Foster's argument, said, "He is the noblest Roman of them all." As a judge, Foster was sometimes very impatient. This was always the case if a lawyer, addressing the court, failed to make his point clear or if he wandered from the point at issue or repeated an argument. He could not tolerate a repetition. He considered it a reflection on his own comprehension. He would say sharply to counsel, "You have said that once sir." On one occasion when an attorney appeared before him and asked for an unusual and improper order he said to him, in the hearing of the entire bar at court, "It is evident, sir, that you are a very poor lawyer." On another occasion it is reported that an attorney, who had made a motion and saw that he was to be beaten, interrupted the court when it was rendering its decision by saying, "If your honor please, the first of Barber is dead against you." To which the judge replied, "The first of Foster holds, sir, that you sit down." It will readily be seen that Foster's court was an unpleasant place for a poor lawyer. It was also no place for a case which had no merit. His quick perception would soon distinguish the true from the false, and his endeavor was to so shape the trial that the right would prevail. He was sometimes, for this reason perhaps, justly criticised for undertaking to control the verdict of the jury. His ability, however, was so great that if he chose he could charge a jury in such a way as to almost invariably procure the verdict that he desired. Judge Foster was utterly free from anything like pretense or assumption. He was always elegant and dignified in his bearing, but his impatience and irascibility made him dreaded as an adversary at the bar, and feared when upon the bench. Yet his high character, great ability and unusual acquirements placed him very near, if not at the very top, of the legal ladder in this county.

ROSCOE CONKLING.

Although it is as lawyers only, that this paper treats of its subjects, yet, with some trepidation, it presents for consideration, one of the most interesting characters that has ever appeared in this county. On October 30th, 1829, at Albany, New York, Roscoe Conkling was born. His father was Alfred Conkling, a man of acquirements, a lawyer of eminence, and, at one time, Judge of the United States District Court for the Northern District of New York. His mother was Eliza Cockburn. When thirteen years of age the young man was placed in the Washington Collegiate Institute in New York, and remained there for one year. He attended the academy at Auburn, New York, for three years, beginning in 1843, to which city his father had removed from Albany. Impatient of study in the schools and not electing a college course, but rather desiring to be in active life, he commenced his law studies in the office of Spencer & Kernan in Utica in 1846, and was admitted to the bar in 1850, about six months before he became twenty-one years of age. He was exceedingly fortunate in being on friendly terms with the influential men in his political party, and on April 22, 1850, was appointed District Attorney of this county. It is probable that he was the youngest man who ever held that office in the State of New York. The duties of this office are such that he obtained at once a varied experience. He was immediately called upon to try important criminal cases, and from the first he showed the metal in his composition. Under the firm name of Walker & Conkling he practiced law for several years. In 1858 he was married to Julia, daughter of Henry Seymour, and sister of ex-Governor and John F. Seymour of this city. During that year he was elected Mayor of the city, and in the fall was nominated by the Republican party for the office of Representative in Congress. This was brought about by a political conference held at the residence of General R. U. Sherman in the house that stood upon the corner of Eagle and Kemble Streets. (Several years since the house was removed

ROSCOE CONKLING.

from the lot and the lot has remained vacant since). The conference was called to agree upon a candidate for Representative in Congress in opposition to Orsamus B. Matteson, who had served for several years in Congress, and was the political leader, and, for years had held undisputed sway in the county, but by reason of serious complications in his official life had provoked intense feeling and opposition. There were present at the conference Mr. Conkling, Ward Hunt, Richard U. Sherman, Joseph A. Sherman, Palmer V. Kellogg, William Ferry, A. D. Barber and some others. After considerable controversy Mr. Conkling was selected as the candidate to oppose the Matteson element in the party. Charles H. Doolittle was the opposing candidate, and a bitter fight for the nomination followed. Mr. Conkling was nominated in the convention, and elected over P. Sheldon Root, the Democratic candidate. Before the termination of his term of office the question of war between the states, filled the minds of the people, and, in the exciting election of 1860, which made Abraham Lincoln President of the United States, Mr. Conkling was re-elected to Congress by an increased majority. In 1862 he was defeated by Francis Kernan, and in 1864 he defeated Mr. Kernan for the same office. Division in the Republican party in 1866 threatened to defeat him, but within a few days before election the tide turned in his favor. Palmer V. Kellogg, who had been one of his staunchest supporters, had been nominated by a body of men calling themselves Independent Republicans, and he was adopted as the candidate of the Democratic party. Mr. Conkling, however, received a handsome majority after one of the most remarkable campaigns ever experienced in the county. It has been said many times by the friends of Mr. Conkling, that the most effective speech of his life, was delivered during this campaign in Old Concert Hall, which stood upon the lot now occupied by the post office. This was a meeting of the working men's party, a vast majority of whom, up to that time, were supporting Mr. Kellogg. Mr. Conkling's address at this meeting was so convincing that he changed the sentiment of the audience, which

was adverse to him at the beginning, to an overwhelming sentiment in his favor. In the winter of 1867 he was elected to the United States Senate, and re-elected in 1873 and 1879. Soon after his election to the senate in 1873, he was tendered by President Grant, the nomination of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Still later in 1882, he was was appointed by President Arthur and confirmed by the senate to the position of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, but he declined both offices.

It seems almost incredible that a lawyer who filled such important positions as Mr. Conkling had, and who had never slighted the duties demanded, should have any time to devote to the practice of his profession. With ordinary men such would have been the case, but Mr. Conkling is not to be classed with ordinary men. In his case, as in that of all others who have attained in the world, the story was ever the same, work, work, work. It would be a safe estimate to make that out of the twenty-four hours of the day, he worked eighteen. Up to the time of his election to the United States Senate he made it a practice to attend every circuit court held in the county, and he was invariably retained in every important trial. His adversary was almost invariably Francis Kernan. The reason for this is apparent. The plaintiff on bringing an important suit, naturally retained one of the ablest attorneys in the county, and this forced the defendant to retain the other. When such a case was on trial the Court House was invariably crowded with spectators, not because of the interest in the case, but in the counsel at the bar. It was an event never to be forgotten by a lawyer, to attend court presided over by Foster or Doolittle, and hear Conkling and Kernan conduct a trial. The practice of Mr. Conkling was largely confined to the trial of civil actions, although occasionally he defended a criminal charged with some high crime, and in a very few instances he assisted district attorneys in prosecuting a criminal who was charged with a serious offense. He argued few cases on appeal. The Court of Appeals reports show that he never appeared in that court

more than four or five times, and the same is true as to the General Term of the Supreme Court. He occasionally, but not frequently, appeared in trials in the United States Circuit Court, and on some occasions he argued cases in the Supreme Court of the United States.

After the dissolution of the firm of Walker & Conkling Mr. Conkling was associated with Montgomery Throop. This firm existed from 1855 to 1862. Afterwards he formed a partnership under the name of Conkling, Holmes & Coxe, and on its dissolution the firm of Conkling, Lord & Coxe was formed; Scott Lord and Honorable Alfred C. Coxe being the partners. After Mr. Conkling retired from the Senate, and in November, 1881, he opened a law office in the City of New York. Among those who sought his services almost immediately were Jay Gould, Thomas A. Edison and C. P. Huntington. The cases in which he was retained were of great interest and involved unusual and difficult questions of law. There were invariably arrayed against him in these litigations, some of the leaders of the New York bar, and seldom, if ever, was he over-matched. Among other cases of importance which he argued in the Supreme Court of the United States, were The County of San Mateo vs. The Southern Pacific Railroad Company, Cook County National Bank vs. The United States, and Marie vs. Garrison. After his death there were many expressions of opinion in regard to Mr. Conkling as a lawyer, by prominent judges and lawyers who had known him during his career in New York City. Perhaps Judge Shipman of the United States Circuit Court has given the truest estimate of his standing in the metropolis. He said: "I thought him a great and profound lawyer, and that he would have been in the front rank of his profession at any time or place. He did not have the accurate learning of Judge B. R. Curtis, or the great wealth of legal knowledge of Mr. O'Conor, but I was exceedingly surprised to see how much he had retained after his long congressional career. His affluence of language and of illustration was great;

but he had a wonderful power of statement, and he was an inventor in the art of decorating his statement so as to make it attractive."

Mr. Conkling was however essentially an advocate. When at times he took part in important trials on the same side with Mr. Kernan, Mr. Doolittle, or with any other eminent counsel, in every instance he made the argument to the jury. This clearly shows that all associated counsel recognized him as their superior in that particular branch of the practice. Early in life Mr. Conkling commenced making the most thorough preparation for the trial in every case. It was his custom to take very full notes of the evidence on the trial. In this he was very proficient, as he wrote a very excellent hand, and very rapidly. As nearly all the trials in which he took part required several days, and sometimes weeks, he occupied his time at night in preparing to sum up the case. He wrote out from time to time during the trial portions of his argument. This enabled him to be ready at the close of the evidence to present the case to the jury from his written argument, which he held in his hand much of the time while speaking. He once said that he would rather stand up before a jury and look the twelve men in the eye, than to do any other thing in the world. Many times during the trial of a case he would startle those upon his own side by the audacious way in which he would conduct the trial. This might occur in regard to the examination of a witness or in his method of presenting the case to the jury. Many trials, civil and criminal, might be mentioned to show Mr. Conkling's peculiar ability and tact before a jury. Perhaps in no case ever tried by him was this shown to better advantage than in Northrup against Richardson.

The action had been brought on the following facts: A woman, riding in a carriage, was approaching Utica from Marcy. On reaching the bridge over the Mohawk river the carriage was struck by a milk wagon, overturned, and the woman precipitated down an embankment. She claimed to be seriously in-

jured. The milk wagon was owned by a farmer and was driven by his son. The woman lay upon a bed for two years after the accident. Her husband finally brought suit against the father of the boy for damages. The trial was had in Utica; Mr. Kernan and Mr. Spriggs for the plaintiff, and Mr. Conkling for the defendant, and it lasted about two weeks. The woman was brought into court upon a bed, and for two days gave her testimony. The scene was pathetic in the extreme. Mr. Conkling treated her with great kindness, but cross examined her carefully. When the evidence was closed the sentiment of the court, of the audience, and undoubtedly of the jury was very strong in the woman's favor. Mr. Conkling addressed the jury for several hours, making perhaps one of the best arguments he ever made to a jury. He took the startling ground that the woman was absolutely well; that she could leave the bed and walk out of the court house; that she was honest in the belief that she could not walk, but that she was mistaken. Against the strong argument made by Mr. Kernan on the other side, and a charge favorable to the woman by Judge Bacon the jury rendered a verdict in Mr. Conkling's favor. Now comes the sequel. Angered by the fact that she had lost the case, the woman arose from her bed that very day and walked the streets of Utica. Could even modern Christian Science have wrought a more complete cure?

Mr. Conkling's method in presenting a case to a jury and also in arguing questions of law to the court, has been inordinately praised and severely criticised. Both his admirers and critics have at times been right. His speeches were always very elaborate, very ornate, and contained all manner of figures of speech. Some very good, and some very defective. Take for instance these: In the case of The People of the State of New York v. Dennison, argued before the Court of Appeals, he characterized the case as "a halcyon and vociferous proceeding." It might be asked what that phrase means? In summing up the case of Smith vs. The New York Central Railroad, re-

ferring to a prominent witness and official of the road, who wore a diamond pin on his shirt front, he said, "The time will come, gentlemen of the jury, when the diamonds which sparkle on Major Priest's bosom will buy less salvation than the merest pebble at the bottom of the spring of the poorest beggar." In another instance he referred to a witness who was addicted to drink, as follows: "His mouth spread over his face, a fountain of falsehood and a sepulchre for rum."

Although as an advocate Mr. Conkling ranked among the foremost in the state, his success was not due so much to what he said, as the way he said it. The effect upon the jury was produced by him much in the same way as George Whitfield affected his audiences, of whom it was said that he could pronounce the word "Mesopatamia" so as to bring his audience to tears. Mr. Conkling's splendid physique, graceful manner, round, full, melodious voice, and the power of his personal magnetism, was almost resistless. He did not persuade the jury; he overpowered them, and made his will theirs. Give him the last speech to a jury, and if the case was anywhere nearly balanced on the evidence he would win a verdict. Although he was always listened to with close attention by the appellate courts, he was not so effective here as at the trial. Had he devoted his entire life to the study and practice of law, he would have ranked as a lawyer among the foremost that the country has ever produced, but no man can be so great that he can gain the very front rank at the bar without devoting substantially his lifetime to the profession. For a knowledge of law and the ability to apply it to given facts, perhaps Hunt was his equal, and Foster and Kernan his superiors, yet, for all in all, had he an equal among us? What one of all the lawyers who has lived in the entire country during the last twenty-eight years, except Roscoe Conkling, would have refused a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, or to be its Chief Justice?

As we call up the past before us now, we see Hunt, cultured,

elegant, dignified; Kernan, resourceful, earnest, persistent; Foster, fiery, combative, a prodigy of legal learning; Conkling imperious, aggressive, resistless. These four, with all the rest who have gone before us to the land of the hereafter, we bid hail and farewell.

Mr. President, with your permission, we turn from the dead to the living. Brothers of the profession, when twenty-eight years more have told their tale, few of us who are in the fight to-day will remain. Over us, then, may some friendly word be said. To that end, and while we yet faithfully protect the rights of the plaintiff and the defendant, shall we not so conduct ourselves as to be helps, not hindrances to each other? And, in our endeavors to right the wrongs of humanity in our respective spheres, may truth prevail over error, and justice be meted out to parties litigant.

LIFE SKETCHES, PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AS AN APPENDIX TO THE FOREGOING ADDRESS.

JOSEPH S. AVERY was the son of Professor Charles Avery of Hamilton College. He was born in Fairfield, Herkimer County, August 27, 1826. He was graduated from Hamilton College in 1848. He taught at Binghamton for one year, and studied law in Clinton with his brother-in-law O. S. Williams, and for a time was associated with him in business there. In 1857 he was appointed postmaster by President James Buchanan. He served until 1860, when like many other Democrats he left the Democratic party in consequence of its position in regard to slavery, and became an ardent Republican. In 1863 he was elected Surrogate of Oneida County on the Republican ticket, and served in that capacity for fourteen years, this being the longest period of time that any Surrogate has ever served in Oneida County. After the close of his term of office he commenced practicing law, and opened an office in Utica in partnership with his brother Theodore, and continued to practice law down to the day of his death. His business was confined almost exclusively to the Surrogate's Court, and in this particular the firm of J. S. and Theodore Avery did the largest business of any firm of lawyers in Oneida County. Mr. Avery drew a great number of wills, and it is safe to say that few wills drawn by him gave rise to controversy. Although he was not, technically speaking, a great lawyer, he was eminently successful in his particular line. He drew the wills of some of the wealthiest citizens, because of their confidence in him in this particular respect. He married Jennie Maria Wilcox, daughter of Charles Wilcox of Middle Settlement, Oneida County. Mr. Avery was a man of high standing, of excellent character, and no breath of suspicion ever attached to him in any of the affairs placed in his hands. He died at Clinton, November 14, 1895.

GEORGE W. ADAMS was born at Waterville, Oneida County, New York, in 1833. He removed from there to Jefferson County and attended the Jefferson County Institute, where he prepared for college. To procure means to finish his education he carried on a private school at Boonville. He graduated from Union College with the class of 1859. Thereafter he came to Utica and commenced the study of law in the office of Charles H. Doolittle. He was admitted to the bar in 1864, and almost immediately formed a partnership with Eaton J. Richardson under the firm name of Richardson & Adams. This firm existed until 1877, when James F. Mann was admitted to the partnership. Mr. Mann remained a partner for only a few years, when the partnership again became Richardson & Adams; this existed for some years, but was finally dissolved by the death of Mr. Richardson. Mr. Adams continued his practice alone. He had a general practice, and was ever an honorable and fair adversary in all of the proceedings entrusted to his care. He married Laura Crouse, an adopted daughter of Daniel Crouse of Utica, N. Y. His wife died some years before his death, which occurred at Utica August 21, 1896.

JOSEPH BENEDICT was born in Belford, Westchester County, N. Y., April 11, 1801, and died in Utica February 18, 1899. He practiced law for some time in Madison County prior to his taking up his residence in Utica, and removed from that county to Utica when he was thirty-seven years of age. Soon afterward he was made City Attorney, and in 1851 he was elected to the New York Assembly, and again in 1854. He published a work on Justice Court practice, which was the standard book for many years. It was known as Benedict's Treatise on Justice Court Practice. Mr. Benedict in consequence of his excellent care of himself, and temperate habits, lived to a great age. He was found at his office nearly every day, attending to his professional duties until he was more than ninety-five years of age; in fact he continued to practice law up to within about one year of his death, and it was claimed for him that he was

the oldest practicing lawyer in the entire country, if not in the world. Mr. Benedict was twice married, both of his wives dying before him. He had the great satisfaction of having great-grandchildren while he was still alive, who loved and respected him.

WALTER BALLOU was born in Boonville, June 21, 1839. He was educated at the high school of Boonville,and graduated from Whitestown Seminary in 1857. He was a soldier in the Union army in the Civil War, having enlisted in Company D, 146 Regiment, in 1862, and was almost immediately commissioned first lieutenant. He was wounded at the Battle of Fredricksburg, and having had typhoid fever, which incapacitated him for duty, he was honorably discharged from the army in December, 1862. He studied law in the office of Henry R. Hadley of Boonville, and was admitted to the bar in 1868. Soon after his admission he formed a partnership with Thomas S. Jones under the firm name of Jones & Ballou, which firm existed for four years. Then he became a partner with Leander W. Fisk under the firm name of Fisk & Ballou; this firm continued for three years. After that Mr. Ballou practiced law at Boonville without a partner. Mr. Ballou was originally a Republican, but having differed from his party on the subject of reconstruction in the south, he became a Democrat, and was appointed Deputy Assessor of Internal Revenue by President Johnson, and in 1875 he was elected to the New York Assembly. He was nominated for Representative in Congress in 1888, but was defeated by James S. Sherman. Mr. Ballou was stricken with apoplexy on his way to the cars to attend court at Lowville on the 8th day of April, 1899, and died almost immediately. He was a man of good reputation, a good lawyer, and left many friends to mourn his sudden death.

BLOOMFIELD J. BEACH was born in Taberg, Lewis County, June 27, 1820. He was educated in the common school, Rome select school, and entered Hamilton College as a sophomore in

1835. He remained there for two years, and then went to Princeton, from which institution he graduated in 1838. He first took up the profession of civil engineer, and for two years was employed on the Erie Canal. In 1840 Mr. Beach studied law in Rome with Calvin B. Gay, and was admitted to the bar in 1843, and was a partner with Mr. Gay until 1846; then he became a partner in the firm of Stryker, Comstock & Beach. The next year Mr. Stryker retired from the firm, and it remained Comstock & Beach until 1855, when Mr. Beach retired, and formed a partnership with the late Alexander H. Bailey under the firm name of Beach & Bailey, and this firm existed until the death of Mr. Bailey in 1874. Then Mr. Beach formed a partnership with David E. Wager, which firm continued up to Mr. Beach's death. In 1847 he was elected to the Assembly, and was a prominent member of that body, serving on important committees, and holding a prominent place among his fellow members. Mr. Beach was prominently connected with most of the industries and business institutions of Rome; was trustee of the Savings Bank and of the Water Works Company, President of the Central New York Institute for deaf mutes; trustee of the Rome Iron Works, Merchants Iron Mills and the Rome Copper Company; director of Ft. Stanwix National Bank and the First National Bank of Rome, and of the Rome & Clinton Railroad. He was president of the village of Rome in 1853-54 and 1863. He married Fannie Whittemore of Nassau, N. Y., and after her death and in 1874 he married Miss C. Elizabeth Bacon of Sing Sing. As a lawyer Mr. Beach ranked very high, as he had a thorough knowledge of the general principles of law. He tried few cases, but no man in the county was better counsel than he upon questions of law and business. He was ever honorable in his relations with men, and stood in the front rank of lawyers in the county for integrity.

PATRICK F. BULGER was born at Athy, County of Queens, Ireland, December 29, 1848. While he was yet a small child his parents emigrated to America and located on a farm in Ful-

ton, Oswego County. His education was obtained in the public schools and Falley Seminary at Fulton. After graduating he taught school one winter and saved money with a view of taking up his law studies in Utica, which he did in 1869, entering the office of Seymour & Weaver as a student. He was admitted to the bar in 1871. In 1874 he was elected City Attorney of Utica by the Democrats, and in 1875 he was elected Recorder by the same party. As the office of Recorder was abolished, and that of City Judge substituted, Mr. Bulger was appointed City Judge and served for four years in that capacity. He was appointed by Mayor Wheeler, Police and Fire Commissioner. For a time he practiced law with John G. Jones as a partner. He was a member of the Utica Citizens Corps and of several charitable societies of Utica and vicinity. In 1877 he married Mrs. Catherine Bridgman, daughter of Michael McQuade, and widow of Captain William G. Bridgman. Mr. Bulger had warm friends, and he did many charitable acts which endeared him to many people who learned to come to him for aid in case of sore necessity, and it is safe to say that when he had the means he never turned a supplicant away with an empty hand.

WILLIAM H. BRIGHT.

Unexpectedly on June 4th, 1894, came the sad news that William H. Bright, Surrogate of the County, was dead. He had been for many years a great sufferer from the effects of a wound received in the civil war, yet, notwithstanding this he had passed through his college course at Colgate University, studied law, obtained a prominent place in his profession, and, as Surrogate of the County, had elevated his court to a dignity that it had never before known. Mr. Bright was born at Pulaski, N. Y., April 27, 1842, was the son of Edward Bright, a prominent Baptist minister, and at the time of his enlistment in the army he was a resident of Wisconsin. After being honorably discharged from the army, in consequence of losing his right arm and receiving another severe wound, he took up his studies and graduated from Colgate University (then Madison

University) in 1869. He studied law with Judge Charles Mason in Utica, and was admitted to the bar and practiced at Utica until he became Surrogate of the County. He was a man of unusual ability, of dauntless courage and unquestionable integrity.

GEORGE CLARENCE CHURCHILL was born in Utica, N. Y., April 14, 1829. He was the son of Alfred Churchill, who for many years was the proprietor of Bagg's Hotel. He prepared for college in the Utica schools, and entered Rutgers College in the class of 1851, graduating with his class. He followed the pursuit of a civil engineer for several years; was engaged on the Chicago & Rock Island Railroad, and afterward for about one and one-half years as one of the engineers for the Utica & Black River Railroad. As his health did not admit of the rugged life required of an engineer he abandoned it and took up the study of law in the office of Mann & Edmunds of Utica, and was admitted to the bar in 1857. For a time he practiced law, but he became engaged in so many business enterprises that he gave substantially all his time to business rather than to the practice of his profession. He married Annie S. Brayton, daughter of Harvey Brayton of Rome, N. Y., and left but one descendent, Mrs. E. D. Matthews. Mr. Churchill was connected with many of the large business enterprises of Utica; was a director of the Second National Bank, a trustee of many of the charities in and about Utica, was a trustee of his alma mater, and devoted much time and contributed liberally from his large means to the support of educational and charitable institutions. He was respected by all who knew him, and among all the citizens of Utica it can be said of him as of but few others, that he had perhaps not one enemy on earth.

JOHN G. CROCKER was a man with strength of mind and was able to grasp the situation with more than usual precision. He appeared but little in the state courts, but gave a good deal of attention to patent law, and for many years was acknowledged the foremost lawyer in Central New York in this specialty. Mr.

Crocker's work on "Sheriffs" was for many years a standard work upon that subject in the country. He also wrote a work upon "Patents," but it was not received by the profession with the same favor as the work upon sheriffs, although he was a clear, concise and strong writer.

GEORGE K. CARROLL dropped dead on the street in Camden, January 2, 1878. He was born in Springfield, Ostego County, N. Y., April 12, 1832. He was educated in the common schools in that part of the country, and went to Camden about 1850 as a clerk in the office of his brother, Kiron Carroll. He was admitted to the bar and practiced law at Camden all his life. He married Miss Linkfield about 1850. He was trustee of the village for several years, member of the board of Excise three terms, and was elected to the New York Assembly in 1872. He was also a candidate for the same office in 1873, but was defeated by Patrick H. Costello. Mr. Carroll stood well at the bar, and left a large circle of friends to mourn his sudden death.

KIRON CARROLL was born in Springfield, Otsego County, January 6, 1826, and died at Rome, N. Y., January 5, 1878. The manner of his death was most tragic. His brother George K. Carroll residing at Camden, had dropped dead upon the street January 2nd. His funeral was appointed for January 5th at Camden. Mr. Carroll was to take an early train, but overslept and hastened to dress and go to the railroad station. It was a bitter cold morning; he started to walk rapidly to the station, but before reaching it he dropped dead upon the street. This incident in connection with the death of his brother a few days before, in the same manner, is a powerful reminder of the uncertainty of this life. Kiron Carroll was a graduate of Union College, and studied law with George Cary at Cherry Valley. He was admitted to the bar and came to Camden about 1851, resided there a little more than a year when he removed to Rome, and there he lived and practiced his profession during the remainder of his life. He had a good general practice, was

a good lawyer, and had the respect of the entire bar of the county.

ERASTUS CLARK.

One of the most cultured men who has died during the quarter century past in this county was Erastus Clark. He was the son of Erastus Clark, the man who gave Utica its name. He was born in Utica on the 20th day of November, 1818, prepared for college here, and graduated from Hamilton College in the class of 1838. For two years he followed mercantile pursuits in New Orleans, but returned to Utica in 1841, and studied law in the office of Spencer & Kernan. In 1844 he edited the Utica Daily Gazette in company with the late General Richard U. Sherman; later he served as City Attorney of Utica, and afterwards for a time edited the Rochester Evening Gazette. Still later he edited respectively the Utica Daily Herald and Daily Gazette. He was elected recorder of the city in 1855, and again in 1859. On the election of Chauncey M. Depew to the office of Secretary of State, he appointed Mr. Clark his first deputy, and Mr. Clark remained as the first deputy under Mr. Depew's successor, holding the office for four years. In 1871 he was again elected recorder of Utica, and it may be said that upon all these occasions Mr. Clark's standing in the city was such that he always received a very large support from the opposing party, being elected recorder against a usual adverse majority. In 1880 he was appointed by President Garfield postmaster of the city. He was for a time engaged in the insurance business under the firm name of Clark & Bagg. As recorder Mr. Clark administered the criminal law so tempered with mercy that his work wrought many a reform in criminals that, perhaps, a less wise and merciful judgment would not have accomplished. He died at Utica, December 31, 1900.

ALEXANDER COBURN died in Utica, N. Y., November 25, 1894. He was born August 18, 1807, at Woodstock, Wainman County, Conn., on a farm, and lived with his father, who was a

farmer until he was fourteen years of age. He then went to Bradford, Penn., and remained there with an uncle until he was seventeen years of age. In summer he worked on farm and taught school in the winter until he was twenty-five years of age. He then came to New York State and attended the Stockbridge Academy at Munnsville. There he prepared for college and entered Hamilton College in the class of 1833. He left, however, and taught one term at Stockport, Columbia County, and did not graduate until 1837. In the fall of that year he commenced studying law with Joseph Benedict, late of Utica, and who at that time was a lawyer at Sherburne, N. Y. In 1838 Mr. Coburn came to Utica, and was connected with Oliver M. Benedict, who was then practicing law in Utica. He was admitted to the bar in 1840, and for a time was a partner with Mr. Benedict. Afterwards he was a partner with the late Samuel B. Garvin, but Mr. Garvin removed to New York, and Mr. Coburn's health was so poor that he was not able to practice law. He was, however, in 1845 made City Attorney, and in 1850 he was Justice of the Peace, and held that office for some time, but in 1854 he resigned in consequence of ill health. In 1867 his health had so improved that he was able to practice his profession again, and he entered the office of Senator Roscoe Conkling as managing clerk, and remained there until 1870, when he entered the office of Spriggs and Matthews in the same capacity. After a short time he formed a partnership with O. Arthur White, and practiced law under the name of Coburn & White, for about a year, when this partnership was dissolved, and he entered the office of Spriggs & Matthews as managing clerk, and held the position to 1886, when he virtually retired from business. Mr. Coburn was a man of excellent acquirements, and as a lawyer he stood in the front rank for ability, learning and integrity. His almost morbid diffidence prevented his attaining the position in the public mind that he was entitled to, although lawyers who knew him recognized his unusual acquirements. Perhaps no one in the county was consulted privately by oth-

attorneys more than he. He was always ready to advise younger attorneys gratuitously, in regard to legal matters, and his opinion was highly valued by all who came in contact with him. During the time he acted as managing clerk for the different attorneys he held a very high place in the office. Although he did not take part in the trial of cases at the circuit, he very frequently argued cases in the General Term of the Supreme Court and in the Court of Appeals. He was a fair antagonist, but one to be feared unless the opposing counsel had mastered his case. No law point escaped Mr. Coburn, and his briefs were masterpieces of work. He had a very retentive and accurate memory. He knew the text books, and was ready to turn immediately to controlling cases upon almost any point called in question. I well remember the last time I ever saw him. It was a short time before he died, and after his eye sight had become so impaired that he could not read. He called at my office to ascertain whether or not he had remembered some statutory law correctly. He stated what he thought the law was, and asked me to look it up and see whether or not he was correct. It was a pleasant duty to perform for Mr. Coburn, as I had frequently consulted him in his palmy days upon questions of law. When I turned to statutes which he inquired about I found that he had remembered them absolutely and stated the law correctly. Mr. Coburn married Cordelia L. Wood, daughter of John K. Wood of Madison County, in January, 1841. He had no children, and upon his death the family became extinct, at least in this part of the country. Mr. Coburn was, as a man and lawyer, highly respected; he was a modest gentleman of the old school and of character above reproach.

STEPHEN CROMWELL died at Camden July 7, 1805. He was born in Carlisle, Schoharie County, Sept. 18, 1815. His education was obtained solely in the common schools, and at seventeen he left home to make his way in the world. He first went south, and for a time was on a Mississippi steamboat. From the south he went to Ohio, where he taught school and

at the same time read law with a brother. He was admitted to the bar in 1842 in the State of Ohio. The next year he came to New York State to live, and was admitted to the bar in this State in 1844, and located in Camden. He entered the office of D. N. K. Johnson, who removed from Camden to Rome, and Mr. Cromwell succeeded to his practice. For a time Mr. Cromwell had as a partner Lewis J. Conlan; at another time William H. Steele, and still at another time George F. Morss. He was married January 1, 1845, to Miss Gifford, but his wife died in 1884. He afterwards married Mrs. Omens of Utica. Mr. Cromwell always enjoyed a good practice, was an able lawyer, trustworthy, and commanded the respect of the bar of the county.

CHARLES M. DENNISON was born in Floyd April 3, 1822, and died at Whitesboro November 5, 1900. He was the son of Samuel Dennison, and was educated at Whitestown Seminary, Clinton Liberal Institute, and at the Holland Patent Academy. He studied law with Alanson Bennett at Rome, and was admitted to the bar in 1847. He practiced law alone in Rome until 1852, when he took as a partner George Harrison Lynch, and this partnership continued until 1870. At that time Mr. Dennison removed from Rome to Utica, where he resided for about one year and practiced law in Utica. He then took up his residence in Whitesboro. In Utica he formed a partnership with John H. Knox, and afterwards also took as a partner Charles J. Everett. This firm existed only for a short time, when Mr. Knox retired. The firm continued under the name of Dennison & Everett until 1881, when Mr. Everett retired, and Mr. Dennison took as his partner his son George E. Dennison. In 1862 Mr. Dennison was appointed assistant assessor of internal revenue at Rome, and he held this position as long as the office existed. After Congress enacted the law for the supervision of elections Mr. Dennison was appointed Chief Supervisor of Election for the Northern District of New York, and he held this position down to the time of his death. Mr. Dennison was a prominent candidate for Judge of the United States District

Court, and had a strong backing, but the President appointed William J. Wallace of Syracuse instead of Mr. Dennison to that position. In 1874 Mr. Dennison was supported for the nomination of Justice of the Supreme Court by many Republicans, but he did not secure the nomination. He married Cornelia Pond March 4, 1851. He was prominent at the bar during his entire career, although he rarely took part in the trial of cases. His time was given more to the settlement of estates, and he had also a large practice in bankruptcy under the act of 1867. His ability was such that had he devoted himself to the trial of cases he would have been eminently successful.

JOHN HENRY EDMUNDS was born in Litchfield, Herkimer County, July 14, 1811. After graduating at the Utica Academy he entered the law office of John Bradish, who was Clerk of the old Court of Chancery. After being admitted to the bar, and about 1840 Mr. Edmunds formed a partnership with Charles A. Mann, under the firm name of Mann & Edmunds. The office occupied by this firm was on the corner of Genesee and Whitesboro Streets. This firm was changed to that of Mann, Edmunds & Miller. Later to Edmunds & Miller; later still to Edmunds, Miller & Mann. In 1871 the senior member of the firm retired from active life. Mr. Edmunds was married in New Jersey in October, 1849, to Eugene Dumaux. During his entire professional career he had the oversight of trust estates, was counsel for many corporations, and was well equipped to be an adviser for those most in need of correct, honest, legal advice.

CHARLES J. EVERETT was born at Litchfield, Herkimer County, Feb. 9, 1848, and died in Utica January 19, 1890. He was the son of Matthew and Janette Everett. He prepared for college in the public schools of Utica, and entered Hamilton College with the class of 1870, and graduated with his class. His course in college was marked by great brilliancy, and particularly in extemporaneous speaking. After his graduation he studied law in Utica: was admitted to the bar, and immediately formed a partnership with Charles M. Dennison and John H.

Knox under the firm name of Dennison, Knox & Everett. This firm continued for only a short time, when it was dissolved, and the firm of Dennison & Everett was formed, which was dissolved by the death of Mr. Everett. In 1880 he was appointed deputy Attorney General, and served in that capacity for four years, at the close of which time he returned to the practice of his profession in Utica, and continued in it down to a short time before his death.

LEANDER W. FISK was born in Boonville, Sept. 30, 1835, and died there April 12, 1901. He was of English descent. He was educated in the Boonville schools and Fairfield Academy. He studied law with George W. Smith, and was admitted to the bar October 4, 1860. He commenced practice at Boonville, and always retained his residence there, and gave his time exclusively to the practice of his profession. He was for a short time a soldier in the 146th Regiment, having enlisted in 1862, but deafness incapacitated him for duty, and he was honorably discharged. In 1866 he was nominated by the Republican party for Member of Assembly, and was elected and served one term. He afterwards affiliated with the Prohibition party, and was its candidate for Representative in Congress at one election, and at another for District Attorney. Mr. Fisk was a good fluent speaker, and except for the fact that his deafness proved a great impediment he would have been an excellent trial lawyer.

ALEXANDER T. GOODWIN was a southerner by birth, having been born in Savanah, Ga., in 1837. He was educated at Rutgers College, graduating in 1858, and immediately took up his resident in Utica. He entered the law office of Conkling & Throop, and was admitted to the bar in 1859. He was Recorder of Utica from 1868 to 1873. He formed a partnership with Dwight D. Porter under the firm name of Goodwin & Porter in 1877. By a division in the Republican party in Oneida County he was elected State Senator in 1883. The firm of Goodwin & Porter had been previously dissolved, and in 1887 he formed a partnership with Joseph R. Swan. In 1890 he was the Demo-

cratic candidate for County Judge, but failed of election. He was elected mayor of Utica in 1892. He married Mary W., daughter of David Wager. Shortly before his death, which occurred on July 3, 1899, he took up his residence in New York City, but as Utica had been his home for many years, and the home of his wife's family, his body was buried in Forest Hill Cemetery.

EDMUND A. GRAHAM was born in New York City in October, 1802. He was invited by the famous Aaron Burr to study law in his office, but declined the offer, and went to Ogdensburg and studied law there with Lewis Hasbrouck. After being admitted to the bar he commenced practice at Ogdensburg, and very soon obtained a large and lucrative practice. While residing there he was clerk of the village in the years 1826 to '31 and '33 and '34. In 1835 he married Cornelia, daughter of Apolos Cooper of Utica. It was Mr. Cooper's desire that he come to Utica, and he consented and removed to this city in 1838, and undertook the management of the large Cooper real estate interests in this city. Mr. Graham rendered to the state a great service in formulating and presenting to the legislature the act authorizing the incorporation of business enterprises known as the act of 1848, which for many years was the only act under which business corporations could be organized in the State of New York. Mr. Graham was attorney for many years for large business concerns in Utica, among which was the Black River & Utica Railroad. He was, until the agitation of the slavery question, a Democrat, but afterwards became an ardent Republican, and took a prominent part in local politics for many years. Mr. Graham's business capacity was such that he accumulated a large fortune, and made ample provision for his posterity. He died at Utica January 27, 1889.

D. M. K. JOHNSON.

For many years one of the foremost lawyers of Rome was D. M. K. Johnson. He was born at Cazenovia, November 7, 1815; prepared for college at the Cazenovia Seminary, and en-

tered the sophomore class of Hamilton College in 1832. In consequence of ill health he was obliged to give up his college course. He studied law in the office of his father, David B. Johnson, and was admitted as a counsellor in 1840. In 1844 he removed to Rome, and commenced his law practice there. In the same year he married Frances Matteson of Rome. In 1859 he received the honorary degree of A. M. from Hamilton College. He was for a time a member of the law firm of Foster, Stryker, Johnson & Lynch. After the dissolution of this firm Mr. Johnson formed a partnership with D. L. Boardman. Afterwards the firm became Foster, Johnson, Boardman & Lynch, and later Mr. Johnson did business under the firm name of Johnson & Boardman, and later still under the firm name of Johnson & Prescott, the junior partner being the Honorable Cyrus D. Prescott. Mr. Johnson was careful in the preparation of his cases, was retained in many of the heavy litigations in the county, and for many years was counsel for the New York Central Railroad Company. He was a very positive man, and could scarcely tolerate the fact that men differed with him. He was intense, and entered into his side of the case with more than usual interest, making his client's cause his own. It could be fairly said of him that his talent was greater than his tact, but for all in all he was a man of excellent standing at the bar, was a fair antagonist in the trial of cases, if somewhat arbitrary, but his high standing was never questioned, and he left an honorable name to his posterity.

WILLIAM E. HARTER was born in the Town of Warren, Herkimer County, on the 15th day of October, 1849. He worked on the farm of his father for several years in his early life, and attended school in the winter. Having accumulated a small sum of money he attended the school at Jordanville, and then Cazenovia Seminary, and graduated from the latter institution. He then commenced studying law with Earl & Prescott in Herkimer. From there he went to Port Byron, and studied law with Horace Howland, and while in that office he was admitted to the bar. After being admitted Mr. Harter came to Utica to re-

side, and commenced practicing his profession here. He was elected one of the Justices of the Peace in the City of Utica, and served in that capacity with ability and fairness. Mr. Harter started off in life as a Republican in politics, but in 1892 he left the Republican party and supported Grover Cleveland, and ever after that acted with the Democrats. Mr. Harter was severely injured by a runaway, having both legs broken some years since. The injury was supposed to be fatal, but he sufficiently recovered to be about his business up to within a week of his death, which occurred at Utica January 31, 1904. He married Miss Eliza Hayward of Columbia Center, Herkimer County. He was a man of good reputation, and had the confidence of all the members of the bar in this city.

BURTON D. HURLBURT was born in the town of Augusta, Oneida Co., N. Y., May 30, 1807. He entered Hamilton College in 1825, but only remained there two years, when he left and went to Union College, from which institution he graduated as valdictorian of the class of 1829. He studied law at Morrisville, Binghamton and New York City, and also in the office of the late Judge Samuel Beardsley of Utica. He was admitted to the bar in 1832, but he had become a trier of cases in Justice Court long before his admission. In 1865 he practically retired from active law practice, but always retained a lively interest in legal matters, and even late in life returned occasionally to take a hand in the trial of cases, particularly at Special Term. He married Lucy Ann Brown of Utica in 1845. He died September 24, 1887, at Utica.

NICHOLAS E. KERNAN was born in Utica July 10, 1845, and died in this city June 26, 1902. He was educated in the Utica Free Academy and the Assumption Academy, and at Seaton Hall College, Orange, New Jersey, from which last institution he graduated in 1867. He studied law in the office of his father in Utica, was admitted to the bar and formed a partnership first with William & John D. Kernan, and afterwards with William Kernan. Mr. Kernan gave his attention very largely to business rather than to the trial of cases. He was interested in

many of the large manufacturing and other business concerns of the city, and was a careful and able adviser in all business matters. He was president of the Skenandoa Cotton Company, vice president of the Oneita Knitting Mills, also of the Fisher Knitting Machine Company, of the Roberts-Wicks Company and Utica Burial Casket Company. He was also a director of the Utica & Mohawk Valley Railway Company, of Charles Miller & Son, and trustee of Utica Female Academy. He was a member of many of the social and charitable clubs and societies. He married Harriet Jenkins of Baltimore, June 1, 1871. Although Mr. Kernan took but small part in the trial of cases, either at Circuit or Special Term, he was ever ready in matters requiring a knowledge of the law, and was a careful, painstaking, conscientious lawyer. As a business man he ranked among the foremost in the city, and his early death was mourned by a large circle of friends.

LESLIE W. KERNAN was born in Utica on the 30th day of October 1865. He was the son of William Kernan. He was educated in the public schools of Utica and Georgetown University at Washington, from which institution he graduated in 1886. He studied law in the office of W. & N. E. Kernan, and was admitted in 1889. From that time up to a very few days before his death he practiced law in Utica, and was ever known as an able and conscientious lawyer. He seldom took part in trials, but most of his time was given to the settling of estates and the detail business of the Kernan office. He was in 1891 by special act of the legislature named as one of the commissioners for the construction of a new court house in Utica for Oneida County. He was a member of Fort Schuyler Club and of other social societies of the city. Mr. Kernan was, for a man of his age, one of the most prominent lawyers in the county. He had a strong hold upon all who knew him, and was highly respected by the bar and the public generally.

THOMAS E. KINNEY was born in Canada August 3, 1841, and died at Utica, N. Y., November 4, 1899. He was the son of Edward and Elizabeth Kinney. He was educated at the pub-

lic schools of Utica and the Assumption Academy, and also at the University of Virginia. He graduated from the last institution in 1863. He studied law in the office of W. & J. D. Kernan of this city, and was admitted to the bar in 1867. He was elected City Attorney of Utica in 1868 and 1869. In 1880 he was the Democratic candidate for County Judge, but was defeated by William B. Sutton. In 1885 he was the Democratic candidate for State Senator against Henry J. Coggeshall, but was defeated. He was elected Mayor of Utica in 1885 by the Democrats. In 1886 he was elected on an independent ticket, and in 1887 he was elected by the Democrats. In 1896 he supported the Republican candidate for president, William McKinley, and was nominated for Mayor by the Republicans of the city and elected, he being the only man who ever served four terms as Mayor of the City of Utica, and enjoyed the unique distinction of being elected by three different political organizations. Mr. Kinney had some considerable ability in the trial of cases at the Circuit, and at times addressed a jury with unusual effect, but as he gave little attention to study, his knowledge of practice and the principles of law was very limited.

EDWIN H. LAMB of Waterville died at his home the 19th day of August, 1890. He was born in Columbus, Chenango County, the 13th day of January, 1823. He obtained his education in the country schools and Chenango Valley High School. After his graduation from this institution he taught Latin and Greek in the same school. He read law in the office of Henry O. Southworth at New Berlin, and in 1849 moved to Waterville, where he opened a law office and practiced his profession during his entire life. Mr. Lamb gave little attention to politics, but devoted himself to his profession. He was, however, in 1855 elected Supervisor of the town; after that he never accepted the nomination for any political office. In 1862 he married Mary S. Babbott. Mr. Lamb was, strictly speaking, a lawyer. He had given very much attention to study, and was thorough in anything he undertook. He was a man who might have gained notoriety as a trial lawyer had his ambition spurred him on to

greater efforts. I shall never forget a case tried by him on one side, and Henry T. Utley on the other, which I heard in the Utica court house many years ago. Among the great number of important cases that I have heard tried this one stands out prominently as having been tried on both sides with about as much ability as I have ever seen displayed in the trial of any case. Both attorneys seemed to have their case exceedingly well in hand; there were many difficult questions of law and fact in the case, and both sides were handled with such ability that it would have been difficult to say which one surpassed the other. Mr. Lamb's character was such that it would have been impossible for him to be anything but a gentleman of a high type, and an honorable man in every transaction of life.

GEORGE HARRISON LYNCH was born in New York City November 28, 1818, and died at Rome Dec. 4, 1885. He was the son of Dominick Lynch, and was educated at Columbia College, and came to Rome in 1844. He was admitted to the bar in 1847, and formed a partnership with John Stryker in 1848 under the firm name of Stryker & Lynch. About this time he married Louise Foster, daughter of Judge Henry A. Foster, and removed to Brooklyn, where he held a government position until 1852. During this year Mr. Lynch returned to Rome and formed a law partnership with the late Charles M. Dennison. Afterwards this partnership was dissolved and he became a partner with Foster, Johnson & Boardman. When this partnership was dissolved he practiced law alone at Rome until about the time of his death. He was Treasurer of Oneida County Savings Bank, was Special County Judge for three terms, having been elected to that office in 1855, 1858 and 1865. He was prominently mentioned as a candidate for Justice of the Supreme Court in 1874. During this year he was elected recorder of Rome, being the first Republican ever elected to a prominent office in the City of Rome. Mr. Lynch was a modest and retiring man, but of excellent ability. Had he possessed an ambition for preferment, and devoted himself to politics or to law with energy he would have been very prominent at the bar or in public life.

JAMES F. MANN was born in Utica, May 24, 1837, and died in this city May 15, 1902. He was the son of Charles A. Mann, who in his lifetime was one of the foremost citizens of Central New York. James Mann was prepared for college in Utica schools, and entered Yale College with the class of 1859. After graduating he entered the office of Edmunds & Miller as a law student, was admitted to the bar and commenced practice, but law was not to his liking, and he left the profession and entered business. He formed a partnership with E. D. Wood under the firm name of Wood & Mann, and this concern was one of the most prosperous institutions in the city; it manufactured steam engines, and did a large and profitable business for many years. This, however, did not continue, and in 1875 the business had ceased to be profitable, and the partnership was dissolved. Mr. Mann returned again to the practice of his profession, and he also did a real estate business. Soon after this he formed a partnership with Eaton J. Richardson and Geo. W. Adams under the firm name of Richardson, Adams & Mann. This partnership continued for a few years, and then it was dissolved, and Mr. Mann practiced law alone, but gave more attention to business affairs. He got control of the Bleecker Street Railroad Company, and converted it from a "one horse" concern into a modern electrical railroad. He also had charge of the building of the Mann Building in this city on the corner of Broad and Genesee Streets, although his brother Dr. Mann furnished the money for the building. Mr. Mann devised the scheme of straightening the Mohawk river north of Utica, for the purpose of recovering a large portion of the flooded lands to the city for manufacturing and other purposes; also to furnish better railroad facilities at the New York Central Railroad station and avoid the flooding of lower Genesee Street. Upon this work Mr. Mann devoted a great deal of time, and finally procured the passage of an act through the legislature providing for the straightening of the river, when it was approved by the Common Council of the city. This consent was not obtained until about ten years after the passage of the act. Mr. Mann was properly named as one of the commissioners to have the work in charge,

and was still serving in that capacity at the time of his death. Although Mr. Mann never devoted himself to the practice of his profession with the energy that he manifested in business affairs, yet all who knew him realized that had he given his time solely to the practice of law he would have been eminently successful. He was a man of fine acquirements, affable in his manner, a gentleman always, and it is much to be regretted that he did not take the position at the bar that his ability entitled him to. On May 16, 1861, he married Emma Louise Oberteuffer. Mr. Mann was a Free Mason, a member of the Fort Schuyler Club, and willingly gave according to his means to charitable and benevolent objects in the city.

ORSAMUS B. MATTESON was born in a log house August 28, 1805, in the town of Verona, in this county, and died in Utica December 22, 1889. His father was Silas Matteson, and his mother was Hannah Cogswell. When he was nineteen years of age he entered the office of Green C. Brunson and Samuel Beardsley as a law student. He was admitted to the bar in 1830. One of his first clients was the late Alexander B. Johnson of Utica, who at the time was perhaps the foremost business man of the city. Mr. Matteson was elected City Attorney in 1830. He became a partner with William J. Bacon, and afterwards with P. Sheldon Root and the late Charles H. Doolittle, and afterwards with J. Wyman Jones; also G. H. Congor and Joseph Benedict. He was a Supreme Court Commissioner early in life. His ability was such, as a business man, that he always had, while he gave his time to law practice, a very large and lucrative business. In 1846 he was first nominated for Representative in Congress, but was defeated by Honorable Timothy Jenkins. He again was a candidate for the same office against Mr. Jenkins in 1848, and was elected, but was defeated in 1850. He was again elected and re-elected in 1852, '54 and '56. While in Congress he held a very prominent position. His influence was second to no man in the House of Representatives. He was an intimate friend of Benjamin Wade of Ohio, John P. Hale of New Hampshire, Joseph R. Giddings of Ohio, and Thaddeus Stevens

of Pennsylvania. He took a prominent part in the agitation against slavery. In this his very life seemed to be enlisted. His hatred of slavery was so great that it over-ruled him completely in his political actions. He seemed to have one great thought, and that was to do all in his power to eliminate this curse from the land.

Actuated by revenge certain persons undertook his political destruction. He had written a letter to William C. Johnson of Utica, which it was claimed compromised him to such an extent that charges were preferred against him in the House of Representatives. This occurred on July 15th, 1856. The substance of the letter was that a money consideration was necessary to carry a certain measure through Congress. He also intimated that there were a sufficient number of congressmen that could be influenced by money to carry the measure. This letter it was claimed was stolen from the office of Mr. Johnson. An investigation in Congress was ordered, and on February 22, 1857, a committee reported in favor of his expulsion. This report was accompanied by three resolutions. The first charged that he had favored the use of money to influence legislation; the second that he had charged that there were members who had associated together and agreed not to vote for certain legislation except they were paid for it. The third resolution recommended expulsion. This investigation was made substantially without giving Mr. Matteson a fair hearing, and he saw that it was useless to defend himself against a prejudiced committee and a house in the state of mind that it was then in, because of his intimation that many of them were corrupt. He therefore resigned his seat in Congress. The first two resolutions were adopted by the House, but the third was never voted upon. Mr. Matteson after his retirement from Congress gave much time to politics, and was for many years a potent factor in the Whig and Republican parties. It was he who led the fight against the first nomination of Roscoe Conkling to the position of Representative in Congress, and it its notable that about this time he wrote a circular letter upon Mr. Conkling in which he prophesied that Mr. Conkling would disrupt the Republican party.

Strange to say this prophecy was fulfilled in that the influence of Mr. Conkling was the means of the defeat of James G. Blaine to the presidency in 1874. Mr. Matteson was tendered the nomination of mayor of the city of Utica in 1865, but he declined. This is the only time that he was nominated for office or tendered the nomination for any political position after his resignation from the House of Representatives. He married Augusta Hurlburt, daughter of Kellogg Hurlburt, May 17, 1830. Although he had a brilliant son, the late Henry C. Matteson, Mr. Matteson left no descendants except two granddaughters, and the name of his branch of the family by his death became extinct.

Mr. Matteson was for all in all the ablest business man who ever appeared at the bar of this county. At one time he had accummulated a large fortune, but he became involved by the endorsement of his friends' paper, and lost it. He died, virtually dependent upon the bounty of his friends.

ANDREW J. McINTOSH was born May 4, 1826, in the Town of Steuben, and died May 12, 1900, in Utica. His father was a farmer, and he was brought up on a farm, working summers, and attending the district school in the winter. He afterwards attended the Holland Patent Institute, and then for some time taught a district school in the northern part of the county. For four years he was a clerk in the office of George A. Yeomens, a lawyer of Remsen. In 1847 he entered the office of Matteson & Doolittle of Utica as a law clerk, and was admitted to the bar in January, 1849. The examination seems to have been very severe, for out of seventeen students examined for admission to the bar only two passed the examination, Mr. McIntosh and Charles J. Andrews of Syracuse, afterward Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals. Mr. McIntosh after admission to the bar formed a partnership with Orchard G. Kellogg. This partnership was afterwards dissolved, and in 1858 he formed a partnership with his brother Ichabod C., under the firm name of A. J. & I. C. McIntosh. This partnership existed until a short time

before the death of Andrew J. The firm of A. J. & I. C. McIntosh during its entire existence did a very large collection business, and probably did more business in the courts of bankruptcy under the act of 1867 than any other firm of lawyers in Central New York. Mr. McIntosh was a man of more than ordinary ability, was a very fine mathematician, and prepared papers with great care and ability. He was a Democrat in politics, but never sought political office. In 1896, however, he supported Mr. McKinley, the Republican candidate for president, on account of his position in regard to the tariff question. June 19, 1860, he married Jane Pruyne Grosebeck, daughter of Stephen Grosebeck of Albany, N. Y. He had no children, but his wife survived him.

ICHABOD C. McINTOSH was born Sept. 17, 1831, in the Town of Steuben, Oneida County, N. Y. He died in Utica February 1, 1904. His father was a farmer, and he spent his early life on the farm, attending the district schools in winter. Afterwards he attended Hobart Hall Institute at Holland Patent. For several years after leaving school he taught district schools in the Town of Steuben and in the Town of Trenton. Having accumulated a small sum of money to pursue his law studies he came to Utica April 19, 1852, and entered the law office of Kellogg & McIntosh; his brother, Andrew J. McIntosh, being the junior partner in that firm. He was admitted to the bar July 3, 1855. After his admission he was connected in business with Mr. Kellogg and H. T. Utley until 1858, when he formed a partnership with his brother Andrew J., and this firm continued down to 1901, when Andrew J. died. Mr. McIntosh was in politics a Democrat, and was city attorney in 1863 and 1864. For the years 1873 and 1877 he was an alderman of the first ward of Utica. In 1880 he was appointed by Mayor Spriggs a member of the police and fire commission, and was chairman of that board. Again in 1888 he was appointed to the same position by Mayor Henry Martin. February 16, 1865, he married Eliza C. Barnum, daughter of Ezra S. Barnum of Utica. Mr. McIntosh was

a good student and careful lawyer. He took no part, however, in the trial of cases, but was an excellent pleader. His papers were prepared with great care, and all attorneys who came in contact with him realized that they had an antagonist, so far as the preparation of papers was concerned, worthy of their steel. The practice of Mr. McIntosh was largely in the United States Courts, at first in the line of patents, but later, and principally, in bankruptcy proceedings. Under the bankruptcy act of 1867 the firm of Andrew J. & I. C. McIntosh did perhaps as much business as any firm in the city. After the death of his brother Mr. McIntosh carried on business alone, but his health was somewhat broken, and his hold upon business gradually slipped away.

ADDISON C. MILLER was born in Lowville, Nov. 12, 1831, and died in Utica December 18, 1894. He was the son of Dr. Sylvester Miller. He received a fair education, and when he was twenty years of age he came to Utica for the purpose of studying law. He entered the office of Mann & Edmunds, the senior member of which firm was Charles A. Mann, an uncle of Mr. Miller. Not long after Mr. Miller was admitted to the bar Mr. Mann retired from the firm, and Mr. Edmunds took Mr. Miller as a partner, and the firm became Edmunds & Miller. Later James F. Mann, the son of Charles A. Mann, was admitted to the firm. This firm did not exist for many years, and on its dissolution Mr. Miller carried on business alone until 1877, when he took as a partner Frederick G. Fincke. On November 1, 1887, the firm became Miller, Fincke & Brandegee. In 1892 Mr. Miller retired from the firm, and virtually from active practice. From that time on until his death he gave attention to his own affairs and to the advising of large corporations in and about Utica. He was trustee and vice president of the Utica Savings Bank, general counsel for the Globe Woolen Mills, a director of the Utica Steam Cotton Mills, and the Willowvale Bleaching Company, and was interested in many other of the large business enterprises of Central New York. He was a

member of the Fort Schuyler Club, but gave little attention to club life or to social affairs outside of his own home. He very seldom took upon himself the trial of cases at the circuit, and never as leading counsel, although he sometimes tried cases at Special Term and before a referee. His ability, however, was shown in a business way rather than as a technical lawyer, and he excelled in his grasp of business propositions, and was a very able adviser in all such matters. He married Cynthia J. Brayton, daughter of Harvey Brayton, in 1863. In 1875 after the death of Judge Charles H. Doolittle it was learned from Governor Dix that he would appoint to the position of Supreme Court Judge in the Fifth Judicial District any member of the bar of Oneida County that the Republican lawyers would agree upon. Several meetings of the Republican members of the bar were held for the purpose of agreeing upon a candidate. These meetings were held in the office of ex-Judge William J. Bacon, but after repeated efforts no candidate could be selected. The position was offered to Mr. Miller by substantially a unanimous voice of the Republican members of the Utica bar, but he declined, giving as reasons that he distrusted his own ability to fill the position to his own satisfaction, and also that it would be a large financial sacrifice to him. It is perhaps enough to say in regard to Mr. Miller's capacity and standing at the bar that he would have been almost the unanimous choice of the Republican members of the bar in the county for Justice of the Supreme Court, had he been disposed to accept the position.

DANIEL C. POMEROY was born in Franklin, Delaware Co., April 1, 1813. He commenced life as a stage driver, and accumulated some means with which to educate himself and to prepare himself for his profession. He studied law with a Mr. Gorham at Burlington, Otsego County; was admitted to the bar in 1843, and practiced law for a time at Edmeston, Otsego County. In 1883 he came to Rome and became a partner of John R. Elwood. After the dissolution of this partnership he formed another with Henry O. Southworth under the firm name

of Pomeroy & Southworth. This partnership continued for sixteen years, and it enjoyed one of the best general law practices of any firm in Oneida County. The name of Pomeroy & Southworth for many years appeared upon the court calendars in more cases than the name of any other firm in the county. Mr. Pomeroy was a trial lawyer, and upon questions of fact he was one of the strongest men in the county. In 1876 he moved from Rome to Utica, and was a partner with his son for about one year, but his health was shattered and he virtually retired from business in 1877, and died October 13, 1878.

CYRUS D. PRESCOTT was born August 14, 1836, in New Hartford, Oneida Co., New York. He received his education in that town and in the Utica Free Academy, and studied law in the office of O. G. Kellogg of New Hartford and Hurd and Brown of Utica. He was two years employed in the Oneida County Clerk's Office, afterward in the office of Johnson & Boardman of Rome. He was admitted to the bar in 1859, and became a partner with Mr. Green under the name of Green & Prescott. In 1867 he entered the employ of a mercantile house in New York as financial clerk, but returned to Rome in 1868 and formed a partnership with D. M. K. Johnson, which firm existed until the death of Mr. Johnson in 1886. For some years thereafter he did business alone, then with Mr. Titus until 1895, when Mr. Titus removed from Rome to Utica, and Mr. Prescott took his son into partnership with him. In 1867 he married Eliza F. Cady of Madison County.

Mr. Prescott was the Adjutant of the 101st Regiment in the war of the Rebellion. He was for many years a member of the Board of Education of the City of Rome, and in 1877 was elected to the New York Assembly, in which body he held important positions upon the committees, and made a good record. He was elected to Congress in 1878, and re-elected in 1880. He died at Rome October 23rd, 1902. Mr. Prescott was a lawyer of unquestioned integrity, fair in all his dealings with men, conscientious in the preparation and the trial of his cases and the

rights of his clients were well protected, and his advice was always given in furtherance of the ends of justice as he saw them.

EATON J. RICHARDSON was born in West Schuyler, Herkimer Co., May 14, 1816, and died at Yorkville, N. Y., February 17, 1895. Mr. Richardson was a son of Warren Richardson, a farmer, and was brought up on a farm, attending the district school, as other farmers' sons did during the winter months. He, however, was ambitious to learn more than he was able to in the district school, and attended Cazenovia Seminary for two years. He then came to Utica and commenced his law studies with Thomas E. Clark, and was admitted to the bar in 1845. He then became a partner with Mr. Clark, and this partnership existed until the death of Mr. Clark in 1857. Mr. Richardson then practiced law alone until 1864, when he took as a partner George W. Adams. Later in 1877 there was admitted to the firm James F. Mann, but this firm only existed a short time, when it was dissolved, and Mr. Richardson did business alone from that time on. He was elected to the Senate by the Whigs in 1855, and at one time was District Attorney of Oneida County, but he gave little attention to politics. He was first a Whig, then a Republican, and still later a Democrat. He always had a good practice, was painstaking and careful in his preparation of cases, and wrote an excellent brief. His wife was Clarissa M. Sleeper of Floyd.

JOHN F. SEYMOUR.

One of the most attractive men that has ever appeared at our bar was John F. Seymour. He was born at Pompey Hill, Onondaga County, September 21, 1814; was the son of Henry, and a brother of ex-Governor Horatio Seymour. In 1820 his father removed to Utica, and the young man attended a private school in this city until he was prepared for college. He entered Yale College in the class of 1835, and graduated with his class. After this he became a law student with Judge William J. Bacon, and was admitted to the bar in 1839. During the same year he was married to Frances Tappan of New Haven. He spent some

time in connection with business enterprises. At one time he was interested with Erastus Corning in the Sault St. Marie Ship Canal, was a director of the New York Central Railroad Company, president of the Fox & Wisconsin Improvement Company, which had for its object the connecting of the great lakes with the Mississippi River. This company also did the work of connecting the waters of Green Bay Lake Michigan with Lake Winnabago. In 1862 he became private secretary to his brother, who was then Governor of the State. He received the appointment as state agent for the care of wounded soldiers during the war, and served until 1865. He was present at some of the great battles, and was instrumental in alleviating the sufferings of soldiers on these memorable occasions. In 1860 Mr. Seymour's wife died, and in 1865 he married Helen L. Ledyard, who died in 1880. In 1881 he was appointed one of the tax commissioners of the State, and in 1883 one of the commissioners to inquire into the condition of the Onondaga Indians. Mr. Seymour was one of the Charity Commissioners of this city from 1873 to '77, and it was during this time the city hospital was built. Mr. Seymour gave much of his time to this enterprise, and to him is due, more perhaps than to any other man, the advance made in this city for the care of the sick and indigent, in a building erected for that purpose. He was much interested in the subject of perpetuating historic landmarks, and took active interest in commemorating the revolutionary events which occurred in this locality. No one did more than he to carry out the great celebration to commemorate the centennial anniversary of the battle of Oriskany, and it was largely through his endeavor that the splendid monument now stands upon this historic ground. In 1888 his health failed, and he died in Utica on the 22nd day of February, 1890. Mr. Seymour's time was so largely taken up with other affairs that he never devoted himself entirely to the practice of his profession. Yet he always enjoyed a fair amount of desirable law business. His cultured mind lead him to investigate carefully all cases trusted to his care, and no one was more conscientious than he in an endeavor

to determine the right and to pursue it. For many years he was a partner with Mr. George M. Weaver of this city under the firm name of Seymour & Weaver. He was recognized as an able, conscientious and honorable member of the profession. Would that all who practice at the bar possessed the courtesy, fairness and honesty of purpose possessed by Mr. Seymour. It was always gratifying to claim Mr. Seymour as a friend, and all who knew him can but remember him as an unselfish, genial companion, and a friend of mankind.

ALEXANDER SEWARD was born in Utica, Nov. 28, 1816. He was the son of Asahel Seward, and was educated in the Utica public schools, Cazenovia Seminary and at Hamilton and Union Colleges,which former institution he entered in 1832 as a sophomore, but went from there to Union, and graduated in 1836. He commenced the study of law with Joshua Spencer in Utica, but went from this city to Rochester, where he remained for a time, but returned to Utica and completed his law studies with Mann & Edmunds, and was admitted to the bar in 1839. He was a law partner for a time with Edmund A. Graham, and also with John G. Hogan. In 1843 he became the editor of the Utica Gazette, and held this position until 1853. He then went to Albany and edited for a time the State Register. In 1854 he became a partner with Mr. E. A. Brayton in the practice of law at Utica, and this partnership continued up to the death of Mr. Brayton in 1887. Thereafter Mr. Seward up to the time of his death practiced law at Utica. He had charge of the settlement of large estates, among which was that of S. A. Munson, one of the wealthiest of our citizens. Mr. Seward was one of the founders of the Oneida Historical Society, and was deeply interested in that institution. He was a citizen that commanded the respect of every one who knew him. As a lawyer he was careful and painstaking, and was excellent counsel in all matters pertaining to the settlement of estates, the investment of trust funds and other kindred subjects. Mr. Seward married June 9, 1853, Cornelia L. Kirkland, daughter of Charles P. Kirkland of this city, and as a second wife in 1873 Anna R. Beardsley.

SILAS L. SNYDER was born at Roundout in 1827. He was admitted to the bar and came to Taberg N. Y., and resided there until his death, January 24, 1901. He was a School Commissioner of the Fourth District of Oneida County, a Justice of the Peace for many years, and in 1865 was a Member of Assembly in the Fourth District of Oneida County. He married Anna Ward, who was the widow of Joseph Dean at the time of the marriage. Mr. Snyder was a good lawyer, careful and able in the preparation of his cases; a fair antagonist, and well versed in equity cases. He had a large practice in the settlement of estates, and was an excellent real estate lawyer. His papers were almost models of composition and penmanship. No office in the county sent out handsomer papers than those prepared by Mr. Snyder personally. Mr. Snyder was prominent in Republican politics, and on several occasions was mentioned as a probable candidate for Representative in Congress, but with the exception of the offices mentioned above he never held publice office. He was a man of good reputation and high character.

JOHN THOMAS SPRIGGS was born in Northamptonshire, England, May 5, 1820. He came to this county with his father in 1836, and settled in Whitesboro. The young man desired a college course, and he prepared for and entered Hamilton College, where he remained for two years. He then left, and for a time studied law at Holland Patent, but he decided to complete his college course, and went to Union, and graduated with the class of 1848. He then studied law in Utica, and after being admitted formed a partnership with Thomas Flandrau. At that time Rome was relatively much more important in the county than Utica, and Mr. Spriggs decided to remove to that town, which he did and formed a partnership with Thomas G. Frost. This business arrangement lasted until 1859, when the partnership was dissolved, and Mr. Spriggs returned to Utica. In 1862 he formed a partnership with Richard McIncrow, and this partnership continued until 1870, when it was dissolved, and Mr.

Spriggs took as a partner E. D. Matthews. This partnership lasted for several years, but as the son of Mr. Spriggs had become a lawyer the partnership was dissolved, and a new firm formed of J. T. and F. B. Spriggs; this firm continued down to the death of Mr. Spriggs, which occurred at Utica December 23, 1888. Mr. Spriggs, aside from his law practice, gave a good deal of attention to politics, and was from the time he commenced active business life a potent factor in the Democratic party of Oneida County. He was appointed District Attorney in 1853, to fill a vacancy. In 1854 he was elected County Treasurer, and in 1868 he was elected mayor of Utica, and in the same year he was the Democratic candidate for Representative in Congress, but was defeated by Alexander H. Bailey of Rome. In 1878 he was the Democratic candidate for Representative in Congress, and was again defeated by Cyrus D. Prescott of Rome. In 1882 he was again a candidate by the same party for the same position, and was elected over Samuel H. Fox, a glass manufacturer of Durhamville, N. Y. This election of Mr. Spriggs was owing to a division in the Republican party into the factions known as the "Stalwarts" and "Half Breeds." The division arose in consequence of the opposition of Roscoe Conkling then a United States Senator, to President Garfield, over the desire on Conkling's part to control the Federal patronage in the State of New York. In 1884 Mr. Spriggs was again renomiated for the same position, and was elected over Henry J. Cookinham by reason of a split in the Republican party. James G. Blaine had been nominated for the presidency, and was opposed by Roscoe Conkling because of an old quarrel between them. Oneida County was Mr. Conkling's residence; the Congressional District consisted of Oneida and Lewis Counties at this time. Grover Cleveland was the candidate of the Democratic party for the Presidency, and the friends of Mr. Conkling in Oneida County supported the Democratic ticket in that county. This resulted in Mr. Cleveland's receiving a majority in Oneida County, whereas it should have given a Republican majority of from two to three thousand, and Mr.

Spriggs was supported by the same persons who supported Mr. Cleveland. In 1886 Mr. Spriggs was again the candidate for Representative in Congress, but was defeated by James S. Sherman. Mr. Spriggs, although prominent in Democratic politics, never was what could be termed a leader. He was a manipulator of caucuses and conventions, possessed a good deal of shrewdness, but in his political discussions and speeches he never entered into arguments of principles to any extent. Although he manifested shrewdness and ability in the trial of cases, yet he at times resorted to methods, in order to win verdicts, that would not be approved in a court of ethics.

JOSEPH R. SWAN was born September 10, 1842, at Columbus, O. He was the son of Joseph R. Swan, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Ohio, and Hannah Ann Andrews of Rochester. Mr. Swan was educated in the public schools of Cleveland and in Kenyon College, from which institution he graduated in 1862, and the same year took up his residence in Utica and entered the law office of Judge Charles H. Doolittle as a law student in 1863. He was admitted to the bar in 1864, and formed a partnership with Mr. Doolittle under the firm name of Doolittle & Swan. He afterwards was a partner with Charles D. Adams of Utica under the firm name of Adams & Swan, and still later the firm became Adams, Swan & Doolittle, the junior member being William S. Doolittle. In 1883 Mr. Swan formed a partnership with Hon. Alexander T. Goodwin, and this partnership continued for several years, and when dissolved, Mr. Swan continued to carry on law business alone until a short time prior to his death. He was interested in many business enterprises, among which was the People's Street Railroad System of Syracuse. He was also President of the Herald Publishing Company, and director of the Second National Bank, and of the Hard Wall Plaster Company. On April 27, 1870, he married Emma Mann, daughter of Charles A. Mann of this city. Mr. Swan was a careful and painstaking lawyer. He tried few cases at the Circuit, but he frequently

tried cases at the Special Term and before referees. He had a good knowledge of the law, and was honorable in all his transactions with his brother attorneys. He died in Utica December 13, 1901.

STEPHEN VAN DRESAR was born upon a farm, probably in the Town of Western. His father's name was Isaac VanDresar, and he was educated only in the common schools. He studied law with Allanson Bennett in Rome, who at that time was the Surrogate of Oneida County. He was admitted to practice in the Court of Common Pleas in 1839, and as an attorney in the Supreme Court in 1841, and several years later he was admitted as a counselor in the Supreme Court. He then formed a partnership with William M. Tallman, which partnership existed to 1844; after this he was a partner with James M. Elwood, for six years. He was supervisor of the town in 1852 and 1853, and later he was Canal Collector. For some years prior to 1869 he was president of the board of school trustees, and afterwards was president of the board of education in Rome. In 1870 he was elected Recorder of Rome, and served for four years. In 1877 he was elected Surrogate on the Democratic ticket over David C. Stoddard. This was a peculiar election, as Mr. Stoddard lived in Utica, and Mr. VanDresar in Rome. The County was ordinarily Republican. Mr. Stoddard received substantially his party vote, elsewhere than in the city of Rome, where out of a total of about 2,200 votes Mr. Van Dresar received a majority of more than 1,700. This result was caused by the jealousy of the citizens of Rome against Utica. Mr. VanDresar married Harriet, daughter of Dewitt C. Rowley about 1850. He was a man of pleasant address, but had little knowledge of the law, and as a Surrogate of the County it can not be said of him that he administered the office upon a high plane.

DANIEL E. WAGER was born in Jefferson County on the 8th day of June, 1823. He was educated in the common schools and Jefferson County Institute at Watertown. He then read

law with Joshua Moore at Watertown, and afterwards with William and Charles Tracy at Utica, and later still in the office of Comstock & Beach in Rome. He was admitted to the bar in 1850, and formed a partnership with H. T. Utley at Rome. This firm existed for some years, when Mr. Utley removed to Waterville. In 1852 he was elected Special County Judge on the Democratic ticket. In 1854 he was one of the editors of the Rome Sentinel, and in 1855 he became one of its proprietors. In 1857 Mr. Wager was made postmaster of Rome, and held the office for four years. In 1860 he returned to the practice of his profession. In 1872 he became a partner with Mr. Beach and Bailey. Later Mr. Wager was a partner with Mr. Beach alone, and this firm existed down to the death of Mr. Beach. Mr. Wager was elected Special County Judge in 1880. He was in every sense an estimable lawyer, with a thorough knowledge of the fundamental principles of law; with good judgment and honesty of purpose he devoted himself to the practice of his profession. He was modest and retiring, and therefore did not attain such public position as his talents and acquirements entitled him to, but he performed the duties entrusted to him with such ability and devotion to the ends of justice that all who knew him had the utmost confidence, both in his ability and in his judgment. He gave much attention to matters of local history, and was one of the best informed men in the county pertaining to the history of men and institutions in and about the County of Oneida. He wrote exceedingly well, and always fairly of those who differed with him in regard to public affairs. His sketches of eminent Romans is a model of short, concise, satisfactory biographies. His name will ever be held in high esteem among the bar of this county. In 1854 Mr. Wager was married to Helen M. Abell, a daughter of Lynden Abell of Rome. He left but one child surviving him, Mr. Frederick L. Wager of Rome, N. Y.

N. CURTIS WHITE was born at Torrington, Conn., Sept. 14, 1822, and died at Ospray, Florida, February 14, 1900. When

Mr. White was 15 years of age he left Connecticut and came to Oneida County, New York, and became a clerk in the store of Warren C. Rowley at Trenton. He remained there for a while, then entered the Vernon Academy, and went from there to the Clinton Collegiate Institute. Having obtained a good education he taught school for several years, for a time as principal of the old Whitestown Academy. Later he entered the office of Kirkland & Bacon of Utica as a law student, and was admitted to the bar in 1846. On the dissolution of the firm of Kirkland & Bacon, Mr. Bacon took Mr. White as a partner, and this partnership existed until Mr. Bacon was made a Judge of the Supreme Court, when Mr. White took as a partner William B. Dana. Mr. Dana went to New York after about a year, and Mr. White became a partner with Timothy D. Lalor. A year afterward Mr. Lalor, on account of failing health, went to California. In 1868 Mr. White went to New York, and for a time engaged in business pursuits. In 1883 he returned to Utica, and again took up the practice of his profession and continued to practice law until a very short time before he died. On account of ill health he went to Florida, but his health did not improve, and he died there. Mr. White gave little attention to politics, although on one occasion he was nominated by the Democratic party for County Judge, but was defeated by George W. Smith. He was a member of the Oneida Historical Society, and also gave a good deal of attention to music. He was a member of the old Mendelsshon Club of Utica, and for many years had charge of the music in the First Presbyterian Church. Mr. White was twice married, his first wife being Jane Stanton, daughter of Elias Stanton of Trenton, and his second wife Delia W. Dana, daughter of James Dana. He was an affable, cultured gentleman, a good lawyer, and left a good name to his posterity.

OTHNIEL S. WILLIAMS was the son of Othniel Williams, and was born at Killingworth, Conn., Nov. 22, 1813. He removed with his father to Waterville, N. Y., in 1814, and to Clinton in 1820. In his fourteenth year he entered the sophomore class of

Hamilton College, and graduated in 1831. For two years he was a tutor in the family of Mr. Gibson in Virginia. In the fall of 1836 he returned from Virginia, and was admitted as an attorney in 1837, and as a counsellor in 1840. On September 6, 1843, he married Delia, the daughter of Professor Charles Avery of Hamilton College. For a time he was an instructor in modern languages in the college, and showed great proficiency in French, Spanish and Italian. Mr. Williams was appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1846, and in 1847 he was made a trustee of Hamilton College. After the new constitution of the State was adopted in 1848 he was elected Surrogate of Oneida County, and re-elected in 1852. In 1850 he was made the treasurer of Hamilton College, and retained this position until his death. In 1871 he received the degree of LL.D. During many years of his life he was identified with many public charities, business corporations and enterprises for the advancement of his town and county. He was a promoter of the Utica, Clinton & Binghamton Railroad, one of its directors, its vice president, and for many years, and up to his death, he was its president. He took great interest in college affairs, and was one of the founders of the Alpha Delta Phi society. At a meeting of the Oneida County bar held after the death of Mr. Williams, Professor Theodore W. Dwight said of him, "He was not only honest, able and patriotic, but a good lawyer." Mr. Williams was a careful and painstaking lawyer,well versed in the principles of law, conscientious and fair in his practice, and when called upon to render decisions as judge, surrogate or referee he did it intelligently, fairly, and was seldom reversed upon appeal. He died having the respect of the entire bar of Central New York.

JOEL WILLARD was born in Schuyler, Herkimer County, in January, 1830. He received an academic education, was admitted to the bar before he removed to the City of Utica, and located here in 1859. He devoted himself to his law practice, and won a good reputation and a fairly lucrative practice. During the

war he was appointed Assistant Assessor of internal revenue, and held that office to 1866, when he was elected County Judge of Oneida County. In that capacity he manifested fair ability, was just in all his decisions, having no favorites at the bar, and no enemies. He married Amy A. Ladd of Schuyler, and resided in Utica up to the time of his death, which occurred January 12, 1880. Mr. Willard never took an active part in the trial of cases, but aside from his duties as County Judge he frequently acted as referee, and had the respect of the bar for the fairness of his decisions. He left a reputation as an honorable man.

McKINLEY AND THE SPANISH WAR.

By General Stewart L. Woodford (former Minister to Spain).

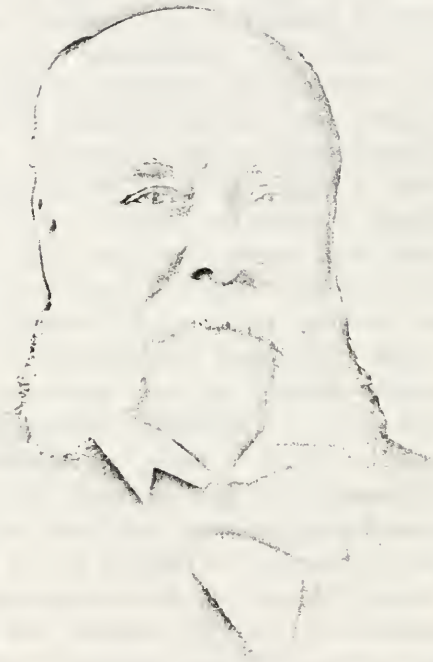
Paper read before the Oneida Historical Society on the 9th day of May, 1904.

I am glad to be in Utica and with Utica friends again, for many of the pleasantest memories of my early manhood cluster around this beautiful city. Here when a young man I knew Horatio Seymour, and was privileged to enjoy his hospitality on the Deerfield hills. Here I knew Roscoe Conkling, and first heard the rythmic flow of his stately yet persuasive eloquence. Here too, although but little music is in my soul and less upon my lips, I was fortunate enough to be made an honorary member of that Welsh singing club, whose wierd, sweet, sympathetic notes are still vibrant on our hearing.

I am asked to present a paper on William McKinley and the Spanish War. I have tried to make it brief. I hope it may be helpful to a better understanding and appreciation of what McKinley did during that crisis when much history was made.

The Presidential canvass of 1896 was conducted and decided on lines of tariff and finance. There was one question, however, on which all were agreed, and that was the problem of Cuba. President McKinley received a mandate from a majority of the people as to the maintenance of the gold standard and the restoration of the protective system. But as to Cuba, he had the mandate of the entire people. The platforms of both parties were, in this regard, almost identical and both declared in unmistakable terms that there must be peace in Cuba. In judging of McKinley's policy and action this controlling fact should be kept constantly in mind.

The President having been inaugurated, Congress was called



STEWART L. WOODFORD.

together and protective tariff legislation was enacted. The position of the new administration as to the inflexible maintenance of the gold standard, was also made clear.

Then, in the summer of 1897, the Cuban problem was taken up with a loyal purpose to carry out the declared will of all our people. The President retained at Havana as Consul-General the man whom Grover Cleveland had appointed to the place. This was Fitzhugh Lee, a Virginia Democrat, a distinguished soldier of the Confederacy, and a cousin of Robert E. Lee. The President appointed as Minister to Madrid a New York Republican, who had served in the Union Army during our Civil War. Thus there was no sectionalism and no partisanship in the agencies by which he sought to carry out his announced policy and to enforce the common mandate of all the people. That policy and that mandate were that there must be speedy and sure peace in Cuba. The new Minister was presented to the Queen Regent at her summer court at San Sebastian on the thirteenth of September, 1897. He had his first official interview with the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs on September eighteenth. At that interview the desire of the President for peace in Cuba was set forth clearly, firmly, courteously, and the duty and necessity of the United States to secure that peace were suggested as directly and unmistakably as the usages of diplomacy permitted. To each of the representatives of the Great Powers, who opened the subject to the American Minister, the same direct, frank statement of the American necessity and the American purpose was made, and to the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs absolute and unqualified permission was at once given to publish every word, written or spoken, that should be addressed by the American Minister to the Spanish Government during his residence at the Spanish Court. This was not in accordance with the century-old usages of diplomacy. But it was President McKinley's way of dealing with this delicate and pressing problem of Cuba. It concerned the peace of the world. It was to open, as even the President could not have then foreseen, a strange, new chapter in the world's develop-

ment, and he met the issue at the threshold with entire frankness, and directness and offer of publicity.

The negotiations thus begun were conducted to the end in the same spirit and on the same lines, kind, frank, direct. I shall not recite them. They are open to all students of history in the published diplomatic correspondence of the two governments. Out from all that correspondence stand these facts. The Queen Regent of Spain and the President of the United States were each and both sincerely desirous of peace. The Spanish Government steadily, courteously, but surely receded from position to position in the interest of peace until there seemed reasonable hopes of peaceful adjustment. Then came occurrences which human foresight had not foreseen and could not have foreseen. The singular and inexplicable letter from the Spanish Minister at Washington to a correspondent at Havana, the destruction of the steamship Maine in the harbor of Havana; and the suggestion by the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs that the request of the Pope for an armistice was at the instance of the American President. The first weakened the faith of our people in the sincerity of the Spanish negotiations. The second evoked a passionate popular cry for vengeance. The third compelled delay in the announcement of the armistice, which then came too late to arrest the demands of the American people for immediate action.

It is impossible to forecast contingencies or to say what would have come to pass had not these unforeseen and unexpected incidents occurred. They did occur and war came. But I have always believed, and now believe, that but for these things President McKinley would have achieved the desire of his heart, and would have accomplished the ultimate independence of Cuba without war. I know the purpose of peace that was in his great, loving heart. I know how he strove for peace. I know how he prayed that the cup of war might pass from him. I know, how, in the last hours of the Spanish negotia-

tions, he kept that same large, loving, humane purpose that sustained him in his dying hours, when, fallen under the bullet of the assassin, he could say, as his Master had said before him: "Not my will, but thine, be done."

War came. It was short, sharp, decisive. It lasted little more than a hundred days. And yet within those hundred days the map of the world was forever changed. Napoleon's hundred days in Italy kindled the ambition of soldiers and bewildered the judgments of statesmen; changed for a decade the boundaries of Europe; and then faded into history leaving Empire and Kingdom as they had been.

The war with Spain has made the Orient over, and has opened vistas whose ending no man can yet foresee. With its closing Cuba was independent, but practically under American protection. Porto Rico is ours. Santo Domingo inevitably will be, for constant, recurring useless rebellions must give place to order and law. This for their sake, for ours, for the peaceful commerce of the world. The treaty with Hawaii, held back by an honest, strong, brave will, became necessity after the Philippines had fallen to us, and Hawaii was annexed as the necessary and logical results of the occupation of Manilla. Guam is ours. The Philippines are ours. The new drama in the Orient opens with our Republic, Master in fact, or in effective influence, of the entire Eastern coast line of the Pacific from the Isthmus of Panama to the Arctic seas. The steady movement of our Nation towards power on the Pacific is strange, certain, resistless as the sweep of the ocean currents. First came the opening of Japan to the commerce and intellectual influences of the West by Commodore Perry in 1853, just half a century ago. Then the cession by Russia to us of the Alaskan territories under the Johnson administration. Then the partition of the Samoan group. Then the treaty of annexation with Hawaii. Then the Spanish war with its ultimate acquisition of the Philippines. Then the ratification of the Hawaiian treaty. Then the demand, courteous, kind but

constant and firm, for the open door in all Asiatic, Oriental commerce. Then the assurance of speedy construction of the Panama Canal, which will make possible and easy the circumnavigation of the Globe by the commerce of all Nations upon central lines. And now the ratification of treaties with China that assure the open door in Manchurian ports and upon Chinese seas whatever may be the outcome of Russian and Japanese struggle in the technicalities of diplomacy or in conflict of arms.

I would not trespass on the amenities of this friendly occasion, but with my instinctive confidence in the manly directness of our present Chief Magistrate, and with my inherited confidence in the integrity and conservatism of John Hay, I believe that when all the facts and conditions shall be judged and weighed by this people to-day, and by impartial history hereafter, it will be found and acknowledged that in dealing with the Panama situation, the President and the Secretary of State did substantially the right thing at the right time and in about the right way. The hands on the dials of time never move backward. The canal across the Isthmus will be constructed. The commerce of the world will pass through it. Across the Pacific; by the Spice islands of Southern seas; through the Suez canal; beyond the Nile, where floated the grain ships of Rome; through the Mediterranean; through the pillars of Hercules; across the Central Atlantic; by the islands where Columbus landed; through the isthmus that unites the twin American continents, and whose canal shall unite the twin oceans, the fleets of commerce and the armies of industry shall pass.

Peace goes with commerce. Education and human uplift go with peace. Whatever may be the struggles and rivalries of to-day, that movement of peace and progress, of development and civilization, which William McKinley so guided and impelled in his solution of the Spanish war, will remain an abiding influence and inspiration through all this century, on which our Republic has entered with high purpose of duty to ourselves, and of duty to the world.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

To the Oneida Historical Society:

The undersigned committee having in charge the subject of placing upon the records of this Society a concise sketch of the lives of deceased members, makes the following report for the year 1904:

The early snows of winter remind us that a year has elapsed since last we assembled in the annual meeting of this Society. During the year ten of our members have passed on to the far country. The first to take the long journey was

EDWARD TREVVETT, who died February 24th, 1904, at Westfield, New Jersey. He was born February 12th, 1840, at Humberston, Leicestershire, England. He received his early education in his own country, and when eighteen years of age, came to America and made his home in Brooklyn, New York. He entered business life as a salesman and was a successful commercial traveller for many years. About 1877 he located in Utica, and in 1880 purchased his home at the corner of Court and Cornelia Streets, and made Utica his permanent residence. In March, 1883, he proposed to incorporate a travelling men's accident insurance company; he called together mutual friends and they organized the Commercial Travellers Accident Association of America and from that time forth until a short time before his death he devoted his entire energies to the interests of this company. It is not saying too much for Mr. Trevvett, when we affirm that to no other man is due as much credit, as to him for the great success of this most worthy object. Mr. Trevvett for many years was the Secretary and Treasurer of the company, and his energy, ability and integrity was the potent factor that made the company what it was, when he severed his connection with it. Mr. Trevvett married the daughter of

Dr. John P. Simpson of Leicestershire, England, and had four children, all of whom survive him. They are, Mrs. Charles H. Davidson, Herbert E. Trevvett, Sidney A. Trevvett and Miss Florence Trevvett. Mr. Trevvett was high up in the counsels of Free Masonry and a member of many other societies; he was a warden and at one time treasurer of St. George's Episcopal Church of this city, and in his church, as in all other affairs, with which he had to do, he bore an enviable reputation. His body reposes in Forest Hill Cemetery.

GEORGE H. WILEY, a life member of the Society, died in Brooklyn, New York, on the 9th day of April, 1904. He was born in Massachusetts, January 12th, 1826, of Scottish ancestry. His early life was spent as an operative in the cotton mills, where he thoroughly learned the business of manufacturing cotton goods. He came to Utica to reside in 1852, having accepted the position of Superintendent of the Utica Steam Cotton Mills. His business life was spent in this city and in that capacity. Under his supervision the mill increased from a small affair to a cotton mill of great proportions. The goods manufactured at the mills, under Mr. Wiley's superintendency, were of a high grade, and his endeavor was ever to increase the capacity and the quality of production. He resigned the position as Superintendent of the mills, after about forty years of connection with them, and never again entered business life. He was a member of Grace Episcopal Church of this city, and for twenty years was a member of the vestry. He was a Trustee of St. Luke's Hospital and of the Masonic Home fund of this city. In politics, he was always a Democrat, but never held public office. He married Miss Anna E. Thorn, daughter of Stephen Thorn of Utica, in 1857, and had one daughter, who is the wife of Dr. William B. Lane of Brooklyn, New York. His first wife died November 16th, 1877, and in 1880 Mr. Wiley married Helen A. Tait, of Worcester, Massachusetts, who died August 2, 1891. He was buried in Forest Hill Cemetery, in Utica. Mr. Wiley was regarded with high favor by all classes, and left an enviable reputation to his posterity.

CHARLES C. KELLOGG, one of the oldest and most respected citizens of Utica died at his home on Genesee Street, May 12, 1904. He was born in this city September 2, 1829, was the son of Spencer Kellogg, who was one of the earliest of Utica's permanent citizens, and whose life impressed itself upon this city. Mr. Kellogg was a graduate of Hamilton College, with the class of 1849. After graduation, he resided for a time in New York, and was engaged in the mercantile business there, but in 1855 he returned to Utica and for a time was a partner with his brother, Palmer V. Kellogg. In 1863 he changed his business by becoming a partner with Charles Downer in the lumber business, under the firm name of Downer & Kellogg, and this firm did a successful business for many years. Mr. Downer finally retired from the firm and Mr. Kellogg conducted the business in his own name most of the time down to 1893, when he took as partners his sons, Frederick S. and Spencer, and the firm became Charles C. Kellogg & Sons. During the same year the concern was converted into a corporation. At this time Mr. Kellogg retired from active participation in the business and left the practical management to his sons. In May, 1854, he married Miss Anna Van Epps, who died in September, 1890. Mr. Kellogg, at his death, left the following descendants: Mrs. Francis M. Burdick of New York, Mrs. H. L. Van Winkle of San Francisco, Miss Mary Kellogg, Frederick S. Kellogg and Spencer Kellogg of Utica. Mr. Kellogg was a Republican in politics, was much interested in the Young Men's Christian Association, and a large contributor to its funds; was a member of the First Presbyterian Church of Utica, and contributed largely to the support of charitable and religious objects. It is no disparagement to other business men of the city to say that no one stood higher in the estimation of the citizens of Utica than Charles C. Kellogg.

GEORGE GRIFFITH, Superintendent of the Public Schools of this city was drowned in Honnedaga Lake in the Adirondacks May 28th, 1904. This was a great shock to this com-

munity. No one was present, and the exact cause of his death was never known. He had taken a small boat and gone out upon the lake to fish. Nothing more was seen of him alive. The boat was found drifting upon the lake, and suspicion was immediately aroused that an accident had occurred to Mr. Griffith. Search was made, and it was ascertained that he had been drowned. The sad tidings were communicated to his friends in Utica, and a few days after, his remains were brought to the city and his funeral was held here, where his untimely death had created so deep an impression upon the citizens, and particularly upon the teachers and scholars of the public schools. Mr. Griffith, for a time was a teacher, having obtained his education at Whitestown Seminary and Hamilton College, from which institution he graduated in 1877. He was, first, after graduation, principal of the New Berlin Academy; afterward he was elected School Commissioner for the Fourth Oneida District. After his term of office expired, he returned to New Berlin as principal of the Union School, and remained there two years. In 1883 he was appointed Superintendent of the public schools of Lockport, New York, and served in that capacity three years. From thence he went to New Paltz, New York, and taught psychology and methods for six years. In September, 1892, he was appointed Superintendent of the Public Schools of Utica, and remained here until the time of his death. He had received the degree of Ph. D. from Illinois Wesleyan University. In 1880 he married Mary C. Hill of Westernville, New York, who died in 1883. In 1886 he married Elizabeth Stacy of Lockport, who with his daughter Mabel and Clarence, children of the first wife, and Ernest, son of the second wife, survive him. Mr. Griffith was an effective worker in the public schools, and constantly bent all his efforts to better the discipline and improve the methods of instruction. His work was effective in our midst, and he is sincerely mourned.

GEORGE W. JONES was at the time of his death Treasurer of the City of Utica. On June 4, 1904, he was returning from a ride with some friends, when the team attached to the carriage ran away. Mr. Jones was thrown out, receiving severe injuries, from which he never recovered and died June 20, 1904. He was educated in the public schools of Utica, and after passing through the advanced school entered the employ of John O. Jones & Son; after leaving this firm, where he had remained five years, he became connected with William H. Owen and also William H. McGarvey, as book-keeper. He was elected to the Board of Supervisors from the twelfth ward of Utica, as a Democrat in 1898, and was elected City Treasurer in 1899, and re-elected in 1901. He was a member of the Democratic Association of this city; a member of the Society of Knights of Maccabees, of the Royal Arcanum, the Free Masons and of the Masonic Club of this city. His wife was Miss Anna E. Gunning, daughter of Mrs. Pierce Gunning of this city, who with two children, George and Raymond, survive him. In the office of Treasurer, Mr. Jones was ever courteous and obliging, and administered the affairs of the office to the general satisfaction of the public.

Miss LOMY REDFIELD PROCTOR, a life member of this Society, died October 6, 1894, at her residence in Utica, She had been an invalid for many years, and had borne her ill health with great fortitude. She was born in Proctorsville, Vermont, October 4, 1837, and had lived in this city for many years, where she was well known and highly respected. She was educated and intelligent, of a generous nature and pleasing manner. She took a deep interest in religious and charitable works; was a member of Grace Episcopal Church; was one of the incorporators of St. Luke's Hospital and Home, and a member of the Society of Colonial Dames and of the Oneida Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Although quiet and unassuming as she was, she held a large space in the hearts of her friends, and all who knew her respected her highly. Her nearest relatives, her surviving, are her sister,

Miss Anne D. Proctor and two brothers, Thomas R. and Frederick T. Proctor, of this city.

HUGH GLENN, of this city, died in London, England, November 4, 1904. He was born in Glenvale, Portrush, Antrim County, Ireland, June 20, 1827. He received a fair education in his own country, and after a short time as an apprentice in the dry goods business at Coleraine he came, in 1849, to America, and for a time was in business in Troy and Rochester, New York and Cleveland, Ohio. In 1851, with two brothers, he went into the dry goods business at Indianapolis, Indiana. During a portion of the time while he carried on business in Indiana he lived in New York, and acted as a buyer for the house. In 1868 Mr. Glenn having accumulated a fortune, sold out his business and returned to his own country, and resided at Norwood, County of Surrey, near London, for ten years. In 1878 he returned to America and bought an interest in a dry goods business of this city, then carried on by E. T. Manning & Company. In 1889 Mr. Glenn took up his residence in this city, and the next year purchased the interest of Mr. Manning in the firm, and formed a partnership with A. Sharp and Thomas Hunter, and the firm name was changed to Hugh Glenn & Company. In 1892 he became interested in a dry goods house in Detroit, Michigan. In 1899 he sold out his interests in these establishments and retired permanently from business. He was a member of the Fort Schuyler Club; was also a member of Grace Episcopal Church of this city, and one of the vestrymen of the church at the time of his death. His first wife was Eliza Manning of Avoca, Wicklow County, Ireland. She died while he lived in England. His second wife was Fannie Ellen Brown of Cornwall, who with three children, Mrs. Thomas Hodge, of London, Mrs. Charles W. Wicks of Utica, and Hugh Glenn, Jr., of New York, survive him. Mr. Glenn, as a business man was highly regarded, and was identified with many of the business institutions of our city, and left a reputation as a prudent, careful and honorable man.

Miss CAROLINE GRIDLEY was born in this city, and was the daughter of Judge Philo Gridley, one of the most eminent judges that ever sat on the bench in this part of the State. She was educated at Miss Kelley's school, now the Balliol School of this city, and had lived all her days in this city. She was a woman of unusual attainments, and devoted her entire life to good works. She was an active member of the Oneida Chapter of the Society of Daughters of the American Revolution, a manager of Faxton Hospital, and for many years was the efficient Treasurer of that institution. She was also a member of the Woman's Christian Association, and of the Reformed Church, and took an active part in all charitable and religious objects; was one of the founders of the McCall Mission, and gave liberally of her time and means to the support of all institutions for the care of the poor and the needy. She died in this city November 7, 1904, mourned by a large circle of friends, and her name will ever be indelibly written upon the hearts of all who knew her.

JULIA TYLER DOOLITTLE was born in Rochester, New York, April 7, 1823. Her father's name was William Pitt Shearman. She was educated at a private school in Canandaigua, and in the year 1836 she was a student in the Utica Female Academy, now the Balliol School of this city. On December 1st, 1847, she was married to Charles H. Doolittle. Mr. Doolittle was one of the most prominent lawyers of Central New York; was Mayor of Utica, and a Justice of the Supreme Court. Judge Doolittle died May 21, 1874, since which time, until her death, Mrs. Doolittle resided on Genesee Street in this city, and has been during all the years of her widowed life one of the most conspicuous women in good works in this city. From her large fortune she contributed to substantially every good work, and perhaps no woman who ever lived in Utica has been so effective in the judicious use of money to help the needy, as Mrs. Doolittle. She left five children, Charles A. Doolittle, ex-Mayor of Utica, Maryette A., wife of Judge A. C. Coxe, William S. Doolittle, Esq., Clerk of the United States

Circuit Court for the Northern District of New York, Julius T. A., and Miss Mary Isabell, all of Utica. Some one truly said of her at the time of her death, "If every one to whom she has done a kind act should lay a rose upon her bier, she would sleep to-night under a wilderness of flowers." She was a member of Grace Episcopal Church of this city, and liberally contributed from her large means to its support. She died in Utica, November 6th, 1904, and is buried in Forest Hill Cemetery.

ROBERT JAMES HUBBARD, a corresponding member of this Society, was born May 31, 1830, in this city, but in 1849 removed to New York, where he became a partner in the firm of Litchfield & Company, a commission house. In 1859 he became the Treasurer of the New York Mail Steamship Company, and held this position until 1868, when he was appointed its assignee. In 1863 he married Miss Anne Foster Burr of Cazenovia, New York, and in 1875 he took up his residence at Cazenovia, where he lived until the time of his death. In 1879 he was President of the village, and was instrumental in establishing the Chittenango Falls Park. He was interested in all subjects that tended to the welfare of the village in which he lived, and spent much time in charitable and religious work. He was a member of the vestry of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, of the American Institution of Civics, New York Geographical Society, the American Historical Society, and a trustee of St. John's School at Manlius, New York. At his death, which occurred December 17th, 1904, the Cazenovia Republican said of him, "An honorable spirit, a true friend, a devoted Christian man, a large hearted gentleman, has gone from us, * * * he has gone, but his example survives, and his works follow him."

All of which is respectfully submitted,

H. J. COOKINHAM.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Qualified.

A.

Feb. 21, 1900 ... Agne, Jacob ..... Utica, N. Y.

B.

Feb. 1, 1889 .... Bachman, Robert L..... Knoxville, Tenn.
April 3, 1900 .... Bailey, E. Prentiss ..... Utica, N. Y.
Dec. 8, 1896 ..... Baker, Thomas F..... Utica, N. Y.
Dec. 23, 1896 ... Baker, William T ..... Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 20, 1900.... Bellinger, William W..... Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 30, 1900 .... Bigelow, Dana W..... Utica, N. Y.
Mar. 19, 1900... Boyle, John W..... Whitesboro, N. Y.
Jan. 17, 1900 .....Bradford, George L..... Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 25, 1896 ... Brainard, Charles Green ..... Waterville, N. Y.
Jan. 16, 1900 .....Brayton, M. Jesse ..... Utica, N. Y.
June 29, 1900 ....Breen, Jeremiah C..... Utica, N. Y.
April 9, 1900 .... Brower, Abram G..... Utica, N. Y.
May 2, 1900 ..... Brokaw, Ralph W..... Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 16, 1900 .... Burch, Robert ..... Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 18, 1900.....Butler, Charles A..... Utica, N. Y.

C.

Feb. 12, 1901 .... Cassidy, Frederick A..... Utica, N. Y.
May 3, 1900 ..... Childs, Charles H..... Utica, N. Y.
Mar. 20, 1900 .... Clark, George A..... Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 12, 1900 .... Coggeshall, Henry J..... Waterville, N. Y.
Feb. 15, 1905 ... Coley, Edward Huntington..... Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 12, 1901 ....Comstock, Edward ..... Rome, N. Y.
Nov. 11, 1896 ... Costello, Patrick C..... New York City
Jan. 13, 1900 .... Coxe, Alfred C ..... Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 10, 1900 .... Crittenden, Cornelia Goldthwaite..... Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. Seth B. Crittenden.)
Jan. 15, 1887 .... Crouse, Daniel Nellis ..... Utica, N. Y.
April 9, 1900 .... Crouse, May Conklin ..... Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. John M. Crouse).
Jan. 29, 1900 ....Crouse, Sophia Maynard ..... Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. Daniel Nellis Crouse.)
April 4, 1900 .... Curran, George L ..... Utica, N. Y.

D.

Nov. 24, 1887.. . Dana, William B..... New York City
Nov. 24, 1884 ....Darling, Charles W..... Utica, N. Y.

Feb. 3, 1900 .... DeAngelis, Pascal C. J.....Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 23, 1900 .....DeLong, Frances E.....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. James B. DeLong.)
Dec. 4, 1900 .... Dering, Brinley Sylvester .....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 14, 1899 ... Dering, Sylvester .....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 20, 1897 .. Devereux, Nicholas E.....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 16, 1899 ... Dimon, Abigail Camp .....Utica, N. Y.
Mar. 19, 1900 ... Dimon, James Watson Williams .....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 10, 1897 ... Dimon, Theodore .....Utica, N. Y.
June 26, 1900 ... Doan, John K .....Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 31, 1900 .....Doolittle, William S.....Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 22, 1900 .....Downing, William L.....Utica, N. Y.

E.

June 25, 1900 ... Earll, John L.....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 25, 1896 ... Ellinwood, Grace Munson .....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. Francis F. Ellinwood.)

F.

Sept. 26, 1900 ... Fairchild, Helen L.....Cazenovia, N. Y.
(Mrs. Charles S. Fairchild.)
Feb. 9, 1900 .... Fitchard, William H.....Utica, N. Y.
April 3, 1900 ... Ford, Willis E.....Utica, N. Y.
May 7, 1900 .... Foster, David S .....Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 17, 1900 ....Fraser, Robert .....Utica, N. Y.

G.

Nov. 25, 1896 ... Goldthwaite, Cornelia Catlin... .....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. Henry Goldthwaite.)
Mar. 24, 1900 .... Gouge, Frederick H.....Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 16, 1900 .... Gilbert, Sarah E.....Utica, N. Y.
April 16, 1900 ....Green, Sarah Kittelhuyn Swartout.....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. W. Jerome Green.)
Nov. 25, 1896 ....Green, Walter Jerome .....Utica, N. Y.
Feb. 15, 1904 ....Griffiths, Thomas J.....Utica, N. Y.

H.

Nov. 13, 1899 ....Haberer, Joseph V..... .....Utica, N. Y.
April 3, 1900 .....Hall, Benjamin .....Utica, N. Y.
April 7, 1900 .... Hart, H. Gilbert .....Utica, N. Y.
Feb. 15, 1905 ... Higgins, Jesse .....Utica, N. Y.
Mar. 30, 1900 ....Hoxie, John C .....Utica, N. Y.
Feb. 7, 1900 .....Hoyt, John C ....Utica, N. Y.
April 3, 1900 .... Hunter, A. Sharp .....Utica, N. Y.

J.

Aug. 4, 1900 .... Jenkins, Thomas C.....Pittsburg, Pa.
July 27, 1900 .... Johnson, Herman I.....Utica, N. Y.

K.

May 3, 1900 .....Kendrick, Frank M.....Utica, N. Y.
Mar. 21, 1900 ....Kernan, Francis .....Utica, N. Y.
April 3, 1900 ....Kernan, Walter N.....Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 12, 1900 .....Kingsley, William L..... .....Rome, N. Y.

L.

Mar. 27, 1900 ....Lawrence, Lewis H.....Utica, N. Y.
April 16, 1900 .. Lewis, William E.....Utica, N. Y.
May 10, 1900 ....Love, Henry M.....Utica, N. Y.
April 14, 1900 ... Lowery, Marklove .....Utica, N. Y.

M.

Mar. 27, 1900 ....MacKinnon, Robert .....Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 29, 1900 .....Maher, John L.....Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 17, 1900 .... Marklove, Clifford .....Utica, N. Y.
Mar. 24, 1900 ....Matteson, William A.....Utica, N. Y.
June 30, 1900 ....Maynard, Isaac N .....Utica, N. Y.
Oct. 20, 1896 .... Maynard, John Frederick.....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 24, 1884 ... McIntyre, Donald .....Utica, N. Y.
July 11, 1900 ....McLoughlin, John E .....Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 19, 1900 .....Meyer, Otto A..... .....Utica, N. Y.
June 29, 1900 ... Middleton, Walter D.....Utica, N. Y.
Feb. 16, 1900 .... Millar, Henry W.....Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 18, 1900 .....Millard, William J.....Utica, N. Y.
April 9, 1900 .....Miller, Charles Addison .....Utica, N. Y.
Mar. 27, 1900 ....Munson, Alfred H .....Utica, N. Y.
April 25, 1900 ....Murray, D. Clinton .....Utica, N. Y.

N.

Mar. 19, 1900 ... Ney, Proctor Huxford .....Utica, N. Y.

O.

Mar. 27, 1900 ... Owen, Philip .....Utica, N. Y.

P.

Feb. 6, 1900 ..... Palmer, Harold L.....Utica, N. Y.
Mar. 30, 1900 ....Pinkney, Edward A.....Utica, N. Y.
April 10, 1900 .. Pixley, Henry D..... .....Utica, N. Y.
July 30, 1900 ....Proctor, Anne Dalusia .....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 25, 1896 ... Proctor, Frederick Towne .....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 10, 1897 ....Proctor, Thomas Redfield .....Utica, N. Y.

R.

April 3, 1900 .... Roberts, John A.....Utica, N. Y.
April 3, 1900 .....Rogers, Charles Butler .....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 11, 1896 ... Root, Elihu .....New York City
April 12, 1900 ... Rowley, Henry Waite .....Utica, N. Y.

S.

Jan. 27, 1900 .....Sanger, Mary Ethel Cleveland Dodge Sangerfield, N. Y.
(Mrs. William Cary Sanger.)
Jan. 6, 1890 .... Sanger, William Cary .....Sangerfield, N. Y.
Nov. 13, 1899 ....Sayre, Theodore S.....Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 16, 1900 .... Schantz, Louisa Graham .....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. Samuel Schantz.)
Jan. 14, 1903 .... Sessions, Frederick W.....Utica, N. Y.
Mar. 27, 1900 ....Sheehan, John H.....Utica, N. Y.
June 29, 1900 ....Sheldon, Morris W.....Utica, N. Y.
Mar. 20, 1900 ....Sherman, Richard W.....Utica, N. Y.
Feb. 1, 1889 .....Shurtliff, George K.....Denver, Col.
Mar. 27, 1900 ....Stewart, Victor B.....Utica, N. Y.
Feb. 25, 1904 ....Storrs, William M.....Utica, N. Y.
Mar. 28, 1900 ....Symonds, Charles S.....Utica, N. Y.

T.

Mar. 30, 1900 ....Terry, Israel N.....Utica, N. Y.
May 15, 1900 .....Thomas, Thomas R.....Utica, N. Y.

W.

Jan. 17, 1900 .....Walcott, W. Stuart .....New York Mills, N. Y.
Mar. 27, 1900 ....Watson, William H.....Utica, N. Y.
Mar. 27, 1900 ....Watson, William Livingstone .....Utica, N. Y.
May 22, 1900 .....Weaver, Frederick G.....Deerfield, N. Y.
May 9, 1900 .....Wells, Edward L.....Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 24, 1900 .....Wetmore, Edmund .....New York City
Jan. 30, 1900 ... Wheeler, Frank E.....Utica, N. Y.
Mar. 24, 1900 ... Wheeler, Thomas .....Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 13, 1900 .... White, Charles Carroll .....Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 13, 1900 .... White, Delancey Pierrepont.....Utica, N. Y.
Dec. 18, 1896 .....White, John Dolbeare .....Utica, N. Y.
Mar. 31, 1897 ... White, William Pierrepont.....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 16, 1899 ... Williams, Abby D.....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. Robert S. Williams.)
Nov. 25, 1896 ... Williams, Cornelia D'Auby .....Utica, N. Y
Feb. 14, 1900 ....Williams, Irvine A.....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 25, 1896 ... Williams, John Camp ... .Morristown, N. J.
June 13, 1900 ....Williams, John B.....Utica, N. Y.

Total, 131.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

A.

Nov. 10, 1896 ....Allen, W. Frederick .....Utica, N. Y.
Feb. 9, 1897 .... Avery, David A.....Utica, N. Y.

B.

Jan. 8, 1901 ..... Bacot, William S.....Utica, N. Y.
Feb. 25, 1879 ... Bagg, Egbert .....Utica, N. Y.
April 25, 1887 ... Barrows, Samuel J.....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 10, 1896 ....Bosworth, Frank A.....Utica, N. Y.
July 14, 1896 .... Brown, Melville C.....Utica, N. Y.
Feb. 9, 1896 .....Buell, Harriette E.....Utica, N. Y.

C.

Nov. 10, 1896 ....Chamberlain, Theresa W.....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. Ephraim Chamberlain.)
Mar. 14, 1899.....Clark, Walton .....Philadelphia, Pa.
Feb. 14, 1896 ... Cookinham, Henry J.....Utica, N. Y.
May 8, 1883 .....Cooper, Henry H.....Utica, N. Y.
April 14, 1896 ....Cross, Theodore L.....Utica, N. Y.
Feb. 9, 1897 .... Crouse, John M.....Utica, N. Y.
April 22, 1899 .. Crumb, Everett F.....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 10, 1896 ....Curran, Lucy H. D.....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. Edward Curran).
Nov. 10, 1896 ....Curran, Sherwood S.....Utica, N. Y.

D.

Feb. 13, 1900 .....Dana, George S.....Utica, N Y.
Oct. 10, 1904 .....Davis, Chester W.....Utica, N. Y.
Jan. 8, 1895 .....Davies, John C.....Camden, N. Y.
Nov. 10, 1896 ....Day, J. Francis .....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 10, 1896 ....DeForest, George .....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 10, 1896 ... Dimon, Harriette Camp .....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. George D. Dimon.)
May 12, 1900 .....Doolittle, Julius T. A. .....Utica, N. Y.
July 14, 1896 .....Dunham, George E.....Utica, N. Y.
May 27, 1889 .... Dunmore, Watson T.....Utica, N. Y.

E.

Dec. 11, 1900 .... Edmunds, James .....Utica, N. Y.

F.

Oct. 23 1878..... Fincke, Frederick G.....Utica, N. Y.

May 30, 1887 .... Fish, Winslow P.....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 10, 1896 ... Ford, Mary Ledyard Seymour.....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. Willis E. Ford)
May 13, 1894 ....Fuller, Earl D.....Utica, N. Y.

G.

May 16, 1889 .... Gibson, John G.....Utica, N. Y.
Oct. 12, 1900 .....Gilbert, Frederick .....Utica, N. Y.
Feb. 9, 1897..... Goodrich, Susan .....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 10, 1896 .... Goodwin, Samuel W.....Waterville, N. Y.
Feb. 9, 1897 .... Gray, Mary B. Wetmore.....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. John P. Gray.)

H.

Mar. 22, 1887 .... Hieber, John C.....Utica, N. Y.
Mar. 8, 1898 .....Humphrey, Correl .....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 12, 1878 ....Hunt, James G..... .....Utica, N. Y.
April, 1902 ..... Hyland, Edward M.....Utica, N. Y.

I.

Mar. 12, 1899 .... Ibbotson, Edward D.....Utica, N. Y.
May 14, 1895 ....Irish, Charles G.....Utica, N. Y.

J.

Dec. 12, 1899 .... Jones, Frank L..... .....Utica, N. Y.
Mar. 12, 1900 ... Jones, Thomas S..... .....Utica, N. Y.

K.

Nov. 10, 1896 ....Kathern, Helen M.....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. Charles Kathern).
Jan. 14, 1896 .... Kellogg, Frederick S.....Utica, N. Y.
Dec. 9, 1901 .... Kellogg, Spencer .....Utica, N. Y.
Mar. 12, 1900 ... Kernan, George A.....Utica, N. Y.
Feb. 12, 1901 .... Kernan, Thomas P.....Utica, N. Y.
June 15, 1878 ....Kernan, William .....Utica, N. Y.

L.

October, 1902 ....Leahy, James F..... .....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 10, 1896 ... Lowery, Emily J.....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. James L. Lowery).
Feb. 10, 1902 .... Lynch, Anthony .....Utica, N. Y.

M.

Nov. 10, 1896 ....Maynard, Mary A. Beardsley.....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. John F. Maynard).
Feb. 8, 1898 ..... McQuade, Patrick J.....Utica, N. Y.
May 19, 1885 .... Merwin, Milton H.....Utica, N. Y.
Oct. 8, 1895 ..... Millspaugh, Edward J.....Utica, N. Y.

Jan. 9, 1889 ..... Mooney, Thomas N.....Utica, N. Y.
April 22, 1889 .. Munson, Edward L.....Utica, N. Y.

N.

Jan. 12, 1895 .....Noyes, Wilbur T.....Utica, N. Y.

O.

May 31, 1887 .... Olmstead, Charles Tyler .....Utica, N. Y.
April 22, 1889 .. Owen, John .....Boonville, N. Y.

P.

April 25, 1887 ....Palmer, Henry C.....Utica, N. Y.
Aprli 14, 1896 ....Pease, Herbert J.....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 10, 1896 ....Peck, Fayette H.....Utica, N. Y.
Oct. 16, 1900 .....Pitcher, Charlotte A.....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. Herbert D. Pitcher).
Jan. 30, 1888 .... Putnam, Frederick W.....Waterville, N. Y.

R.

Nov. 10, 1896 ... Ralph, Cornelia M. Barnes .....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. George F. Ralph.)
Nov. 10, 1896 ....Roberts, Frances White .....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. Henry Roberts).
May 11, 1881 .....Rowley, Warren C.....Utica, N. Y.
May 16, 1889 .....Russell, Charles P.....Utica, N. Y.

S.

Sept. 23, 1896 ....Schreiber, John C.....Utica, N. Y.
Mar. 13, 1894.... Schuyler, William J .....Utica, N. Y.
May 16, 1889 ... Scranton, William C.....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 10, 1896 ....Seward, Anna R. Beardsley .....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. Alexander Seward).
July 14, 1896 ... Seward, Elliott H.....Utica, N. Y.
May 27, 1889 ... Smith, William T.....Utica, N. Y.
Feb. 9, 1897 .... Stradling, Edmund W.....Utica, N. Y.
Feb. 12, 1901 ... Stryker, Thomas H.....Rome, N. Y.

T.

Mar. 12, 1900.... Talcott, Charles A.....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 10, 1896 ... Terry, Marshal O.....Utica, N. Y.
Oct. 13, 1902 .... Thorn, James E. B. .....Utica, N. Y.
Mar. 11, 1879 .... Tompkins, Henry H.....Utica, N. Y.
May 8, 1900 .....Town, John J.....Utica, N. Y.

W.

Dec. 9, 1901 .... Walcott, Frederick C.....N. Y. Mills, N. Y.
April 22, 1889 ... Warnick, Leslie A.....Utica, N. Y.
July 1, 1879 .....Watson, James T.....Clinton, N. Y.

Nov. 10, 1896 ....Watson, Julia Millard .....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. William H. Watson.)
Nov. 10, 1896 ... Watson, Lucy Carlile .....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 13, 1883 ....Weaver, George M .....Utica, N. Y.
May 27, 1889.... White, Hugh .....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 10, 1896 ...Wilcox, Wallace B.....Utica, N. Y.
Feb. 7, 1876 .... Wolcott, Emily J.....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. Samuel G. Wolcott.)
April 22, 1889 ... Wood, Henry J.....Utica, N. Y.
Feb. 13, 1900 ....Wright, William C.....Utica, N. Y.
October, 1904 ... Taft, Marcus L.....Clinton, N. Y.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

April 11, 1899 ... Miller, Blandina Dudley .....Utica, N. Y.
Nov. 13, 1899 ... Miller, George L.....Omaha, Neb.
Feb. 11, 1879.. ..Parkman, Francis .....Boston, Mass
Mar. 8, 1887 .... Pride, Herbert A.....Holland Patent, N. Y.
Dec. 8, 1896 .....Proctor, Maria Watson Williams.....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. Thomas Redfield Proctor).
Dec. 8, 1896 .... Proctor, Rachel Munson Williams .....Utica, N. Y.
(Mrs. Frederick Towne Proctor.)
Nov. 14, 1899 ....Roosevelt, Theodore .....Oyster, Bay, N. Y.
Mar. 28, 1887 .... Seymour, Horatio .....Utica, N. Y.

DECEASED MEMBERS.

Elected.		Died
	A.	
Jan. 14, 1879	Abbott, Henry G	Jan. 17, 1896
Feb. 9, 1897	Allen, Benjamin	Mar. 28, 1903
Nov. 6, 1889	Armour, Herman O	Sept. 8, 1901
Oct. 26, 1889	Armour, Philip D	Jan. 6, 1901
Dec. 10, 1878	Armstrong, Jonas W	Jan. 30, 1901
	B.	
Dec. 15, 1876	Bacon, William J	July 3, 1889
June 6, 1877	Bagg, Matthew D	Jan. 6, 1881
Dec. 15, 1876	Bagg, Moses M	May 2, 1900
Nov. 13, 1899	Ballou, Daniel	Feb. 15, 1902
June 6, 1877	Ballou, Theodore P	Apr. 30, 1887
April 8, 1879	Barber, Amaziah D	June 28, 1892
June 6, 1877	Barnard, Charles E	May 4, 1888
May 26, 1884	Barnes, Charles C	Feb. 17, 1891
Nov. 26, 1878	Barnett, Milton D	Aug. 3, 1887
May 26, 1884	Barnum, George G	Oct. 1, 1899
Dec. 15, 1876	Barrows, Storrs	Mar. 4, 1877
Feb. 25, 1879	Bartlett, Dwight H	Jan. 11, 1881
Dec. 15, 1876	Batchelor, Daniel	Dec. 14, 1893
Jan. 14, 1879	Beach, Bloomfield J	Mar. 21, 1894
Aug. 25, 1887	Beare, Henry C	Jan. 2, 1900
Dec. 12, 1878	Bennett, Dolphus	Sept. 7, 1881
June 6, 1877	Benton James	Sept. 19, 1895
Jan. 13, 1885	Bidwell, Hudson	Aug. 17, 1895
Jan. 13, 1880	Bigelow, Horace P	Nov. 15, 1894
Jan. 28, 1879	Bigelow, Horace Porter	June 27, 1902
Oct. 29, 1878	Bissell, John G	Oct. 21, 1900
April 27, 1890	Bradlee, Caleb Davis	Mar. 1, 1897
Feb. 15, 1890	Brandegee, John Elmendorf	May 1, 1905
Feb. 9, 1896	Brandegee, Matina Louisa (Mrs. John J. Brandegee.)	Dec. 11, 1904
Dec. 12, 1878	Brayton, Edward S	June 2, 1887
Mar. 11, 1879	Brooks, Erastus	Nov. 25, 1886
April 22, 1889	Brown, John G	Mar. 27, 1903
June 15, 1878	Brown, Samuel G	Nov. 4, 1885
Sept. 23, 1878	Buckingham, Edward Doty	May 3, 1891
Dec. 17, 1878	Buell, Abel B	Mar. 20, 1880

Oct. 23, 1878 .... Bulger, Patrick F..... .....Dec. 30, 1898
April 25, 1887 ... Butler, Morgan ....Aug. 3, 1892
June 6, 1877 .....Butler, Truman K..... ... .Nov. 11, 1888
Feb. 16, 1900 ....Butterfield, Daniel .....July 17, 1901
Jan. 14, 1879 .... Butterfield, Theodore F.....Feb. 21, 1891

C.

June 6, 1878 ....Campbell, Samuel .....Sept. 22, 1885
June 6, 1877 .... Campbell, William W.....Sept. 7, 1881
June 28, 1889 ... Cantwell, Edward .....Apr. 11, 1891
April 14, 1891 ....Chamberlayne, John K.....Oct. 5, 1893
Feb. 5, 1882 .....Childs, Elias .....Jan. 19, 1895
Dec. 8, 1889 ....., Childs, J. Morris .....Apr. 15, 1892
April 12, 1892 ....Childs, Lucius C.....July 31, 1895
June 6, 1877 .... Christian, William H .....May 8, 1897
Mar. 27, 1900 .... Churchill, G. Clarence .....June 3, 1902
Oct. 5, 1878 ..... Clark, Erastus .....Dec. 31, 1900
Dec. 15, 1876 ....Conkling, Roscoe.....Apr. 18, 1888
Dec. 17, 1888..... Constable, Casimer .....Feb. 7, 1905
May 27, 1889 ... Constable, James .....Aug. 23, 1898
Feb. 11, 1879 ... Constable, John .....Apr. 4, 1887
Dec. 15, 1876 ... Cook, Theodore Dwight .....May 27, 1887
Oct. 13, 1887 ....Corey, Daniel G.....Feb. 20, 1890
Dec. 15, 1877 ....Crocker, John G.....July 8, 1888
Feb. 22, 1900 ....Crouse, Charles B.....Mar. 25, 1903
June 6, 1887 .....Curran, Edward .....June 4, 1894

D.

Feb. 11, 1879 ... Dana, James Dwight .....Apr. 14, 1895
May 27, 1889 ....Dana, James W.....May 2, 1894
Sept. 11, 1883 ....Darling, Charles Chauncey.....Sept. 15, 1887
Nov. 13, 1883 ... Darling, Henry .....Apr. 20, 1881
Mar. 11, 1879 ....Davies, Peter .....Oct. 7, 1893
June 15, 1878 ....Dawson, Henry B.....May 23, 1889
Feb. 11, 1879 ....Delancey, Edward Floyd .....Apr. 7, 1905
Sept. 23, 1878 ....Dennison, Charles M.....Nov. 5, 1900
Dec. 15, 1878 ....Deveroux, John C.....Dec. 24, 1884
Nov. 23, 1878 ....Dimon George D.....Apr. 13, 1897
June 6, 1877 .....Dix, John A.....Apr. 21, 1879
Dec. 24, 1878 .....Donaldson, David .....Mar. 25, 1879
April 14, 1900 ....Doolittle, Julia Tyler .....Nov. 20, 1904
(Mrs. Chas. H. Doolittle)
Feb. 11, 1879 ... Dorsheimer, William .....Mar. 26, 1888
Oct. 19, 1881 .....Douglass, Isaac H.....Apr. 13, 1884

June 15, 1878 ....Draper, Lyman Copeland .....Aug. 27, 1891
Feb. 8, 1882 .... DuBois, George .....Sept. 27, 1887
April 25, 1887 ....Dunham, Moses E..... .....Dec. 17, 1898
Jan. 12, 1886 .....Dwight, Benj. Woodbridge .....Sept. 18, 1889

E.

June 6, 1877 .....Earl, Robert .....Dec. 2, 1902
June 6, 1877 .....Earl, Samuel .....Oct. 10, 1891
April 22, 1889 .. Eaton, James .....Nov. 18, 1890
Dec. 15, 1876 ....Edmonds, John H.....Apr. 1, 1881
May 31, 1887 .... Everts, Daniel T.....June 11, 1902

F.

June 6, 1887 .....Faxton, Theodore S.....Nov. 30, 1881
Feb. 9, 1892 .....Flower, Roswell P.....May 12, 1899
Oct. 29, 1878 .... Foster, Charles B.....July 22, 1882
Dec. 15, 1876 .... Foster, Gilbert A.....Dec. 7, 1877
Oct. 14, 1879 .....Foster, Henry A .....May 12, 1889
Oct. 8, 1878 .....Fowler, Philemon H.....Dec. 19, 1879
Dec. 23, 1878 .....Frederic, Harold .....Oct. 19, 1898
Oct. 29, 1888 .....Fuller, John W.....May 12, 1891
Feb. 22, 1886 ... Furniss, Frederick H.....Nov. 10, 1890

G.

Oct. 14, 1879 .....Gardner, Murray Monticello .....July 31, 1880
Feb. 1, 1889 .... Gibson, William T.....Nov. 23, 1896
Feb. 9, 1897 .....Glenn, Hugh .....Nov. 5, 1904
Mar. 11, 1879 ... Goodale, John A.....Oct. 20, 1898
Oct. 8, 1878 .....Goodwin, Alexander T.....July 3, 1899
Dec. 15, 1876 .... Goodwin, Daniel Butler .....Oct. 20, 1889
Dec. 27, 1886 ... Graham, A. A.....Feb. —, 1896
Feb. 9, 1897 .....Graham, Cornelia Cooper .....July 17, 1898
(Mrs. Edmund A. Graham)
May 30, 1887 .... Graham, Edmund A.....Jan. 27, 1889
Sept. 18, 1878 ....Graham, George .....July 26, 1897
June 6, 1877 .....Graves, Ezra.....Jan. 8, 1882
Feb. 22, 1886 ....Gray, Asa .....Jan. 30, 1888
Feb. 13, 1883 ....Gray, Israel J.....April 1, 1891
Dec. 15, 1876.... Gray, John P.....Nov. 29, 1886
Jan. 28, 1879 .....Green, W. Jerome.....Jan. 27, 1885
May 14, 1885 .....Grider, Rufus A.....Feb. 7, 1900
Feb. 9, 1897 .....Gridley, Caroline .....Nov. 6, 1904
Jan. 8, 1895 .....Griffith, George .....May 28, 1904
Dec. 29, 1876 ... Guiteau, Frederick W.....Oct. 5, 1903

Dec. 15, 1876 ....Guiteau, Luther .....June 13, 1885

H.

Nov. 24, 1884 ....Hackett, Cordon .....Dec. 31, 1891
Jan. 26, 1886 .....Hale, Horatio .....Dec. 28, 1895
Oct. 3, 1889 ..... Handy, Truman P.....Mar. 27, 1898
Feb. 11, 1879 .... Hardin, George A.....Apr. 16, 1901
Dec. 31, 1886 ... Hartley, Isaac Smithson .....July 3, 1899
Feb. 25, 1888 ... Harris, George H .....Oct. 5, 1893
Oct. 9, 1883 .....Holbrook, Henry J.....June 11, 1895
June 6, 1877 .... Homes, Henry Augustus .....Nov. 3, 1887
June 6, 1877 .... Hopper, Thomas .....Sept. 8, 1894
May 27, 1889 ... Horton, George C.....May 30, 1898
June 6, 1877 .....Hough, Franklin B.....June 11, 1885
Sept. 18, 1895 ... Hubbard, Robert J.....Dec. 17, 1904
June 13, 1900 ... Hughes, John F .....Mar. 13, 1903
Dec. 15, 1876 ....Hunt, Ward .....Mar. 24, 1886
May 8, 1894 .... Hunt, Ward 2nd.....Aug. 24, 1901
Feb. 24, 1890 ....Huntington, Channing Moore .....Nov. 24, 1894
Dec. 15, 1876 .... Huntington, Edward .....Apr. 17, 1881
Dec. 1, 1876 ..... Hutchinson, Charles W.....Sept. 14, 1896
Jan. 8, 1878 ..... Hutchinson, Edwin .....Oct. 19, 1887
Dec. 10, 1878 ....Hutchinson, Frederick E.....Sept. 22, 1883

J.

Oct. 29, 1878 .....Jackson, William B.....Dec. 28, 1890
Dec. 15, 1876 .....Johnson, Alexander Smith .....Jan. 26, 1878
April 8, 1879 ....Johnson, Charles Adams .....Mar. 30, 1891
Nov. 26, 1878 ....Johnson, Delos M. K.....July 29, 1886
Feb. 25, 1889 ....Johnson, Wm. Clarkson.....Jan. 22, 1893
May 22, 1900 ....Jones, David .....May 16, 1902
Dec. 11, 1900 .... Jones, George W.....June 21, 1904
Dec. 1, 1876 .... Jones, Morven M.....Nov. 22, 1886
Dec. 15, 1876 ... Jones, Pomeroy .....Dec. 30, 1889
May 8, 1883 .... Judson, Henry R.....Aug. 12, 1896

K.

Jan. 17, 1900 ....Kellogg, Charles C.....May 12, 1904
Dec. 15, 1876 .... Kernan, Francis .....Sept. 7, 1892
Nov. 10, 1896 ....Kernan, Leslie Warnick .....Sept. 6, 1903
Mar. 26, 1900 ....Kernan, Nicholas E.....June 26, 1902
Jan. 27, 1890 .....Kinney, Thomas E.....Nov. 4, 1899
Feb. 11, 1879 .....Kirkland, Charles P.....Aug. 7, 1883
Feb. 11, 1879 ..... Knox, William E.....Sept. 17, 1883

L.

Sept. 7, 1881 .....Lamb, Martha J. R. Nash.....Jan. 2, 1893
(Mrs. Charles A. Lamb.)
April 8, 1879 .....Ledlie, James Hewett .....Aug. 5, 1882
Jan. 9, 1883 .....Ledyard, L. Walters .....Sept. 25, 1897
April 25, 1887 .....Lengenhaher, Frederick J.....Dec. 4, 1888
Nov. 11, 1878 .....Lewis, Benjamin F.....June 3, 1897
Jan. 9, 1894 .....Lewis, David B.....Nov. 19, 1902
July 1, 1879 .....Lintner, Joseph Albert .....May 5, 1898
Feb. 25, 1879 .....Littlejohn, A. N.....Aug. 3, 1901
Feb. 11, 1879 .....Lossing, Benson John .....June 3, 1891
Feb. 11, 1879 .....Lothrop, Samuel .....

M.

Feb. 19, 1897 .....Maine, August Theodore.....April 4, 1902
April 22, 1889 .....Marklove, John G.....Aug. 12, 1891
Jan. 30, 1888 .....Marsh, Luther R.....Aug. 6, 1902
Feb. 11, 1879 .....Marshall, Orasmus Holmes....July 9, 1884
July 14, 1896 .....Mather, Charles W.....Nov. 4, 1899
June 15, 1878 .....Marriam Clinton L.....Feb. 19, 1900
June 15, 1878 .....Messenger, I. Newton.....Mar. 11, 1895
April 8, 1879 .....Miller, Addison C.....Dec. 18, 1894
Dec. 15, 1876.....Miller, Rutger B.....Nov. 22, 1877
Dec. 3, 1889 .....Moore, Horatio S.....July 23, 1898
Dec. 15, 1876 .....Moore, Michael .....May 28, 1888
June 15, 1878 .....Munsel, Joel .....Feb. 15, 1880
Feb. 9, 1897 .....Munson, Council .....Feb. 12, 1897

Mc.

Nov. 13, 1883 .....McKinney, Charles .....June 8, 1894
Jan. 8, 1878 .....McMillan, Andrew .....July 27, 1893
Jan. 14, 1896 .....McMillan, Sally S.....Dec. 9, 1896
(Mrs. Andrew McMillan.)
Oct. 8, 1878 .....McQuade, James .....Mar. 25, 1885

N.

Dec. 15, 1876 .....North, Edward .....Sept. 12, 1903
May 27, 1889 ..... North, Walter C .....Sept. 6, 1891

O.

Aug. 22, 1889 .....Oatley, Francis M.....July 8, 1891
Feb. 11, 1879 .....O'Calloghan, Edward Bailey...May 27, 1880
Jan. 24, 1896 .....Osborn, Ada Morse .....April 5, 1902
(Mrs. Amos O. Osborn.)
Jan. 28, 1879 .....Osborn, Amos Ozias .....Sept. 27, 1896

P.

April 28, 1890 .....Parker, Ely Samuel .....Aug. 31, 1895
Feb. 25, 1879 .....Parker, Matthew M.....July 11, 1900
Oct. 16, 1894 .....Peattie, John .....Mar. 19, 1896
Oct. 8, 1878 .....Peckham, Merritt .....Apr. 13, 1893
Feb. 11, 1879 .....Pierrepont, Wm. Constable....Dec. 20, 1885
Jan. 14, 1879 .....Piper, John .....Nov. 4, 1897
Feb. 11, 1879 .....Pratt, Daniel J.....Sept. 12, 1884
Dec. 17, 1878 .....Prescott, Cyrus D.....Oct. 23, 1902
July 30, 1900 .....Proctor, Lomy Redfield .....Oct. 6, 1904

R.

June 6, 1877 .....Ray, Benjamin F.....Dec. 15, 1884
June 15, 1878 .....Redfield, Lewis Henry .....Dec. 17, 1881
Dec. 28, 1885 .....Ricord, Frederick W.....Aug. 12, 1897
Jan. 31, 1887 .....Roberts, James .....July 4, 1889
June 6, 1877 .....Roberts, John E.....Nov. 4, 1897
Nov. 10, 1896 .....Rogers, Elizabeth Butler.....Dec. 23, 1903
(Mrs. Publius V. Rogers.)
June 6, 1877 .....Rogers, Publius Virgilius.....July 3, 1895
Feb. 25, 1879 .....Roof, Garrett L.....July 15, 1891
April 25, 1887 .....Russell, William .....Jan. 27, 1890

S.

June 6, 1877 ....Sammons, Simeon .....May 3, 1881
Jan. 11, 1887 .....Sayre, Charles H.....Apr. 27, 1894
April 25, 1887 .....Schiller, Charles H.....Dec. 25, 1899
Feb. 25, 1879 .....Schroeppel, Richard .....Sept. 14, 1882
May 30, 1884.....Schuyler, George W.....Feb. 1, 1888
Dec. 1, 1876 .....Seward, Alexander .....Mar. 14, 1897
Nov. 12, 1878 .....Sieboth, Joseph .....Sept. 19, 1885
Dec. 15, 1876 .....Seymour, Horatio .....Feb. 12, 1886
Dec. 1, 1876 .....Seymour, John F.....Feb. 22, 1890
May 6, 1879 .....Seymour, Norman .....Feb. 21, 1892
Jan. 28, 1879 .....Shattuck, Lewis H.....Sept. —, 1884
May 27, 1889 .....Shaver, Charles C.....Nov. 26, 1900
Dec. 15, 1876 .....Sherman, Richard U.....Feb. 19, 1895
Oct. 12, 1897 .....Sicard, Montgomery .....Sept. 14, 1900
June 6, 1877 .....Simms, Jeptha R.....May 31, 1883
Sept. 7, 1881 .....Smith, Erminnie Adelle.....June 9, 1886
(Mrs. Simeon H. Smith.)
April 8, 1879 .....Smith, Green .....
Feb. 4, 1897 .....Soper, Arthur W.....Nov. 30, 1901
Jan. 16, 1900 .....Spencer, Thomas W.....Feb. 22, 1902

June 6, 1877	Spinner, Francis E.	Dec. 31, 1890
Nov. 29, 1886	Spriggs, J. Thomas	Dec. 23, 1888
Feb. 11, 1879	Street, Alfred D.	June 2, 1881
Dec. 15, 1876	Stryker, John	Apr. 30, 1885
Nov. 10, 1896	Swan Joseph R.	Dec. 13, 1901

T.

Jan. 8, 1878	Tallman, Edward A.	July 13, 1898
Jan. 13, 1880	Taylor, James W.	Apr. 28, 1893
Nov. 8, 1892	Terrett, William R.	May 4, 1902
Feb. 15, 1882	Terry, Edward A.	May 15, 1899
Nov. 12, 1878	Thomas, George R.	July 25, 1897
Nov. 26, 1896	Thomson, Helen E. (Mrs. Milton H. Thomson)	Mar. 24, 1899
June 7, 1883	Thomson, Milton H.	Mar. 5, 1893
April 22, 1899	Thorn, John	Dec. 31, 1894
Jan. 28, 1879	Tourtellot, Louis A.	April 4, 1899
Dec. 15, 1876	Tower, Charlemagne	July 24, 1889
Feb. 11, 1879	Tracy, Charles	Mar. 4, 1885
Feb. 11, 1879	Tracy, William	Nov. 2, 1881
Nov. 10, 1896	Trevvett, Edward	Feb. 19, 1904
Feb. 11, 1879	Trunbull, James Hammond	April 5, 1897

U.

Dec. 8, 1896	Upson, Anson J.	June 15, 1902

V.

Dec. 17, 1878	VanEmberg, Thomas	June 11, 1892
Dec. 6, 1877	Van Schaack, Henry C.	Dec. 16, 1887
Feb. 25, 1879	Visscher, Frederick J.	Mar. 6, 1880
June 6, 1877	Visscher, Simon G.	Dec. 24, 1887

W.

Dec. 15, 1876	Wager, Daniel E.	Apr. 13, 1896
Feb. 25, 1879	Wagner, Peter J.	Sept. 13, 1884
June 6, 1877	Wagner, Webster	Jan. 13, 1882
Dec. 15, 1877	Walcott, William D.	April 1, 1890
June 6, 1877	Walker, George	Nov. 22, 1890
April 22, 1889	Wells, John B.	Nov. 27, 1891
June 6, 1879	Webster, Peter G.	Apr. 15, 1888
June 15, 1878	West, DeWitt C.	Aug. 27, 1880
June 6, 1877	West, Joseph E.	Mar. 6, 1897
June 15, 1878	White, David P.	June 18, 1881
Nov. 10, 1896	White, Henry L.	Jan. 18, 1900
Feb. 12, 1884	White, N. Curtiss	Feb. 16, 1900

Dec. 15, 1876	White, Philo	Feb. 11, 1883
Feb. 13, 1883	White, William M.	July 2, 1896
Nov. 10, 1896	Wiley, George H.	April 9, 1904
April 25, 1887	Williams, James H.	Oct. 6, 1896
Dec. 15, 1876	Williams, Othniel S.	May 20, 1880
Jan. 14, 1879	Williams, Rees G.	Dec. 24, 1895
Dec. 1, 1876	Williams, Robert S.	Aug. 6, 1899
Feb. 11, 1879	Williams, S. Wells.	Feb. 16, 1884
Feb. 28, 1887	Winston Dwight D.	Jan. 8, 1895
Jan. 28, 1879	Wolcott, Samuel G.	June 3, 1883
Feb. 25, 1879	Wright, Ebenezer Kellogg	Aug. 5, 1895

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